

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

ANNALS
OF
ARCHAEOLOGY
AND
ANTHROPOLOGY

ISSUED BY THE
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

EDITED BY
J. P. DROOP
AND
T. E. PEET

VOL. XVIII Nos. 1—2
MCMXXXI

THE UNIVERSITY PRESS OF LIVERPOOL

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THE OLDEST REPRESENTATION OF HORSEMANSHIP (?)¹

An Egyptian Axe in the British Museum

By H. R. HALL, D.LITT., F.B.A.

WITH PLATE I

THE Egyptian axe (No. 36766) illustrated on Pl. I has never received the attention it deserves. It has been published three times already, first in line by Sir Gardner Wilkinson in *The Ancient Egyptians* (1837), I, p. 406, (1878), I, p. 278; then by Sir Ernest Budge photographically in *Archæologia*, LIII (1892), Pl. III, 2, p. 91; and then by Erman in line in his *Aegypten und aegyptisches Leben im Altertum* (1886), p. 652 (Eng. transl. by Lady Tirard, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (1894), p. 493). It is briefly described by Budge in his *Guide to the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Egyptian Rooms* (1922), p. 102. But it has never been recognised for what it is, an important document on the history of horsemanship, in Egypt or elsewhere. For the design on its blade is one of the most ancient representations of a horse in Egypt, and certainly the most ancient of the rare Egyptian representations of a man riding a horse. Its date is probably the first half of the XVIIIth Dynasty, between 1580 and 1450 B.C. Its provenance and history are unknown, as it was in the Museum collections certainly before 1835. Wilkinson first illustrated it in 1837.

It is complete, having its original haft, carved and striped in the handsome style of the period, with hoof-like butt, a style often repeated on a larger scale in modern axes. This butt no doubt originated in the desire to give a grip to the handle, the junction of a smaller branch with a larger being used for the purpose. The bronze blade is still attached to the haft by cross-bound strips of leather, covered with resin (which

1. This is one of a series of four articles written by Dr. Hall very shortly before his death. The other three will appear in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* during the course of the present year. It is with feelings of the deepest regret that we publish what must be, so far as the *Annals* are concerned, the last contribution from his pen.

has been mistaken for bitumen). The blade, discoloured by the resin that had covered it in the grave, is *ajouré*, showing a flat, non-plastic design, identical on both sides, of a man, apparently naked, riding a galloping horse. In front of this group are two inverted papyrus-flowers united at their mouths. While the form of the blade is good, the workmanship of this design is poor. The 'fretwork' style of the cutting and its want of modelling are often found among poorer examples of this period. The flowers are really bad, but though the horse, extended all out, *ventre à terre*, is extremely elongated (to fill the space), the figure of the man or boy who bestrides him is not so bad. The mane of the horse, line of his shoulder, the eye and hair of the man, and his legs, are indicated by shaded lines, which in the case of the man are more definite on one side than on the other. Indeed on one side his legs are not indicated at all, though it is hardly probable that he is intended to be riding 'side-saddle.' No harness or trappings are visible on the horse, which is being ridden bareback. The man (or boy ?) seems to wear a necklace, and his hair or wig seems to have a long lock over the ear which is possibly meant for the boy's plaited side-lock, though there is no detail. On the body there is no sign of a waistcloth or other garment, and if the figure is meant to be that of a boy, he is no doubt intended to be naked. In his left hand he holds what may be a whip or bridle, though, if the latter, it is not represented on the horse's neck.

The importance of this group as one of the most ancient representations of horsemanship in the world is obviously great. There is no need to reiterate the well-known fact of the Egyptian ignorance of both horse and wheel until the Hyksos period, when chariot and horses were introduced from Asia. This axe does not date many centuries after that event. An almost equally early representation of the horse is also in the British Museum: the wall painting of the resting charioteer and horses from the tomb of Sebekhetep at Thebes (middle XVIIIth Dynasty). But this is the earliest representation known of an Egyptian riding. Such representations are very rare. Erman in his first edition (Engl. transl., p. 492) says there are none of Egyptians; although he publishes this axehead as illustrating riding, he implies that all such representations are of foreigners. He is followed in this by Ridgeway, *The Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 218. But this is incorrect; in this instance at any rate the figure is naturally to be taken as that of an Egyptian, I think—of a naked Egyptian boy. The rider from Egypt figured by Wilkinson (*op. cit.* (1837), I, p. 289; (1878) I,



AN EGYPTIAN AXE.
BRITISH MUSEUM NO. 36766.
Length 17 inches.

p. 191), also barebacked, is of the Roman period (from Esneh), and the horse looks like it, while the rider seems Egyptian enough: one sees nothing foreign about him. Riding *aides-de-camp* in battle (one is armed with a bow) are found under the XIXth Dynasty (Champollion, *Mon.*, Pl. 17 *bis*; Breasted, *Battle of Kadesh*, Pl. VI), who are undoubtedly Egyptians, though they were assumed by Erman in his first edition to be foreigners; in the new edition of Erman and Ranke (p. 586), however, they seem to be treated correctly, as Egyptians. But our axehead has disappeared from the illustrations of Erman and Ranke, and is not mentioned by them as proving—as it seems to me to do—that Egyptians did ride horses, though perhaps rarely. This fact adds to the interest of our axehead.

The blade measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (11.5 cm.) by 2 inches (5.1 cm.); the haft is 17 inches (43.2 cm.) long.

EXCAVATIONS IN THE DEANERY FIELD, CHESTER, 1928

Part I: The Excavation

By J. P. DROOP AND R. NEWSTEAD

WITH PLATES II-VII

THE third campaign in the Deanery Field was carried on with six men for ten weeks during the months of March, April, and May 1928. This campaign was financed by a fund collected by the Deanery Field Excavation Committee, composed of representatives of the Chester and North Wales Archaeological Society, the Haverfield Bequest Committee, Liverpool and Manchester Universities, and the municipal and local Education authorities, to which fund the Haverfield Bequest Committee generously contributed £75. To those Committees and to all who made the excavation possible the excavators offer their thanks. The work was directed throughout by Professor Newstead.

Work was begun at a point where the continuation of the eastern boundary wall of the eastern half of the barrack blocks excavated in 1924-1926¹ could be picked up immediately to the N. of the part then excavated. A trench was run northwards uncovering both faces of this wall in order not to miss any party walls. After passing two chambers similar to those previously excavated, Nos. 6A and 7A (carrying on the earlier series of numbers) in Plate VI,² the trench crossed a narrow roadway paved with cobbles. Beyond this the boundary wall was found to continue, but the party walls soon showed that this was a building of a different type, and it is probably to be considered the officers' quarters. The E., N., and W. walls and part of the S. wall of this building were traced, and part of the W. wall of the legionaries' block with the verandah in front of it. It was not possible to dig out any of the rooms in its entirety, but a

1. *Liverpool Annals*, XV, Pl. II, Block B.

2. The excavators are indebted to the skill of Mr. J. E. Sunter for the original plan on which that shown in Plate VI is based.

good deal of rooms 6A and 7A was uncovered, and enough could be done to trace the complete ground plan of the officers' block.

The first trench on the E. was continued northwards beyond the building. Immediately to the N. it found a stone-built drain running downhill from the W. parallel with the N. wall of the block. This was explored westwards as far as the 13/14 party wall, and two side drains out of the building were found to run into it. Beyond this drain a metalled roadway was met with, likewise running E. and W. parallel to the drain. It showed two made surfaces, and while the northern edge was well preserved the metalling appeared to have been robbed on the S. Further N. than this across the *intervallum* in the direction of the rampart under the mediaeval wall it was not at this time possible to go. Nor did the available resources allow the excavation at this time of any part of the corresponding western block of buildings on the Abbey Green side of the field.

The general character of the remains can be gathered from the three sections on Plate VII. The wall footings were carried down nearly to the solid rock. Flush, or not quite flush, with the top of the footings was a floor of sand, and not more than 2 feet above this and often less was a floor of poor white plaster or cement (see Pl. II *b* and *d*). The objects found beneath both these floors were uniformly of late first-century type. Over much of the site everything was disturbed above this cement floor, but in rooms 7, 7A, and 17 and 10 there was clear indication of a level not to be called a floor made in late Antonine days. In 7 and 7A the remains between this level and the cement floor contained Antonine sherds, and this Antonine layer was definitely capped with mortar and rubble and numerous fragments of decorated wall plaster from the party wall of the two rooms, synchronising in fact with the plaster found more or less *in situ* at a much lower level. The section across 17 and 10 was still more informative, for there a black deposit (cf. Pl. II *d*) containing Antonine remains passed unbroken across the remains of the party wall. This deposit contained a rubble of fallen stones, above which was a third poor floor, the section showing clearly that the building had been largely altered in the late Antonine period, if not indeed demolished. This fact is at any rate not in contradiction of the view, probable on other grounds, that in the later second century the garrison of Deva was much reduced.

Throughout the site a number of post-holes were found beneath the sand floor (marked by dots in Pl. VI), but it has not been possible to fit these posts into the scheme of any permanent building, and the most

probable explanation of the holes is that they were left by scaffolding poles used in erecting the building.

The extant remains of the walls consisted almost entirely of footings, 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches in width, constructed of unworked stones of irregular sizes. They are best seen in Pl. V *a*. Here and there one or two courses of the actual visible wall remained, the most being four courses of the W. wall of room 11 (Pl. II *a*). The actual walls, slightly narrower than the footings, were constructed in the usual way with a rubble core and a facing on each side of horizontally coursed stones cut to have a flat top and bottom but otherwise quite unworked, the better to key into the core (Pls. II *a* and V *a*).

THE LEGIONARIES' BLOCK

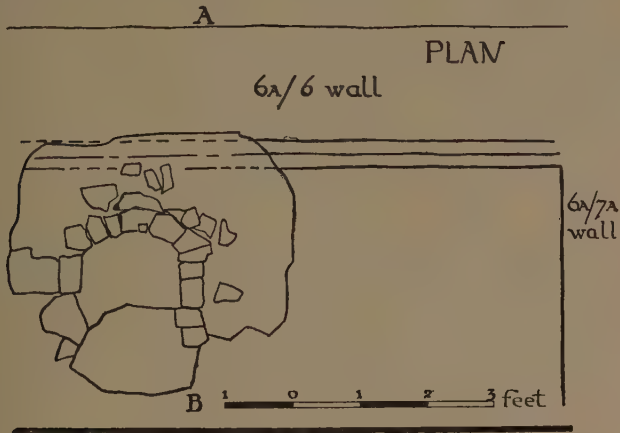
The two northern divisions of the legionaries' quarters (rooms 6, 6A, 7, and 7A) differed in no material feature from those previously excavated. The lower floor was uniformly of sand, the upper floor was of sand in 6A, though with a trace of cement capping along the E. wall, but of cement in the other three rooms. Three hearths were found, two on the lower floor in 7A and one on the upper floor in 6A.

Those in 7A were rather makeshift affairs. The first was a semicircle of rough stones set in clay with the axis against the E. wall. The second was in the SW. corner. The shape was square with the E. side rounded. On the sand floor was a foundation of small blocks of sandstone, over which, packed in clay, was a mosaic of broken tiles (Pl. III *d*) grooved on one side into small squares. Clay was spread over these tiles to a thickness of about an inch. In the centre was a hollow of about 4 inches.

The hearth on the second floor in 6A (Pl. III *b* and Fig. 1) was more elaborate.¹ It was built up to a height of 1 foot 4 inches; the back wall in the centre of the curve was 1 foot 5 inches thick, of which the back 4 inches were keyed into the ashlar of the 6A/6 party wall, the stones overlapping the first and second ashlar courses. The S. side, 1 foot 2 inches thick, projected 1 foot from the centre of the curve, while the N. side was thicker, 1 foot 7 inches, and projected 1 foot 5 inches. The floor of the hearth was of sandstone 4 inches thick, with a rounded front projecting

1. A hearth of similar form and construction was found in Room 4A (*Liverpool Annals*, XV, p. 9, Fig. 2).

about 2 feet 4 inches from the centre of the back and set into the back with cement.



PRESENT SURFACE OF TURF

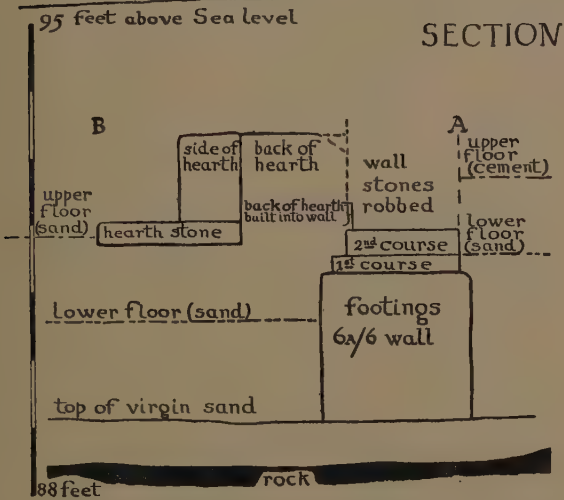


Fig. 1.—HEARTH IN ROOM 6A.

In the NW. portion of 7A an arrangement of wooden beams was discovered, the purpose of which was not clear (cf. Fig. 2).

One beam 2 feet 10 inches long and 3 inches thick (its width could not be discovered) was running parallel to and about 1 foot 9 inches W. from the 7A/7 wall footings. Its N. end was 10 feet 7 inches N. of the 6A/7A wall. Four inches S. of the N. end an upright, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in N.-S. section by 6 inches in E.-W. section, extended downwards for 6 inches. The space under the arms of the T so formed was packed with clay. Traces were found of a corresponding upright against the 7/7A wall footings, but no corresponding horizontal beam was there observed.

A second beam was found running E.-W. of which the W. end approached so close to the N. end of the first beam as to leave little doubt that they were originally connected in some way, though its western end has decayed. The other end is 4 feet 9 inches E. of the W. side of the first beam. But the upper surface of this second beam is now flush, not with the first beam, but with the bottom of the upright beneath it. This second beam, 6 inches thick, is in fact bedded in the sand floor, its surface being about 2 inches above it. At the E. end there is an upright, 4 inches in square section, extending downwards 12 inches. Whether this woodwork represents the remains of some oblong structure, possibly a couch or seat raised above the sand floor, is quite uncertain. What is certain is that in this instance the woodwork has no connection with the structures represented by the post-holes. For underneath the western upright was a post-hole sunk into the rock and filled up with sand, and there was a thickness of 3 inches of sand between the bottom of the upright and the lip of the post-hole. Since this woodwork is connected with the earliest occupation level, the lower sand floor, it is clear that in this instance at least the post-hole had its use before that occupation. In Pl. III c, seen from the SW., part of 6A is to be seen with the 7A/6A wall footings in the right foreground. The edge of the early hearth is seen protected by boards, and, above, portion of the upper cement floor. To the left is seen part of the upper surface levelled at a later date, between which and the cement floor lay Antonine remains with a good deal of fallen wall plaster. Just beyond the point where this has been cut away part of the first horizontal beam and the upright below it can just be seen. In Pl. III d (view from NW.) this late level and part of the upper, cement, floor are in the left foreground, but the hearth has now been excavated. Beyond it are the 7A/6A wall-footings, the lower sand floor in 6A, and beyond again the upper sand floor and the hearth in 6A.

It should be noted that, as the rock has a downward slope to the E.

of about 1 in 15, the floors in the western rooms are higher than the corresponding floors to the E. (Pl. VII).

As described in the previous account, a roadway ran N. and S. between the two blocks of buildings, and the legionaries' blocks had facing the roadway an open verandah with a sand floor. Three substantial roughly squared blocks to support the verandah posts were found where they were

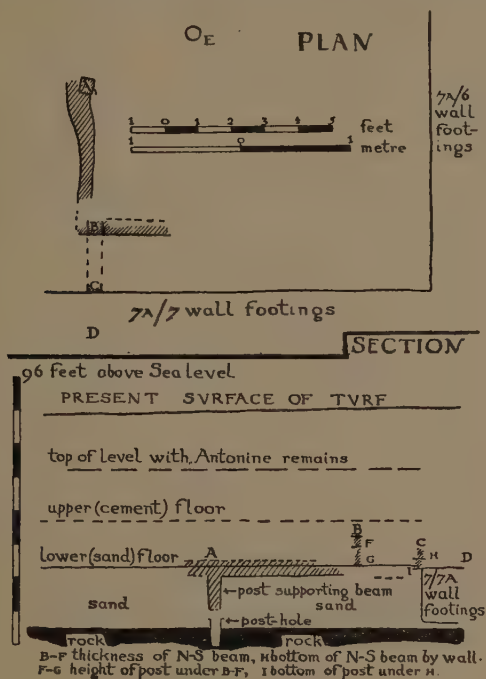


Fig. 2.—WOODWORK IN ROOM 7A. PLAN AND SECTION.

expected (Pl. V b): the southernmost in the background of the photograph was 21 inches square and $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The two stones standing together farther N. in the centre of the photograph were only 7 inches thick. Of these the more southerly was roughly 24 inches by 18, while the other was about 24 inches square. The southernmost stone had a dowel cut in the N. side, the middle one a dowel in the centre, and the northern a dowel in the E. side all cut roughly square. And a square

piece had been cut out of the NE. corner of this last. But the exact purpose served by these cuttings was obscure.

THE COBBLED PASSAGE

The plan of the barracks seems to be exceptional in that the outside wall is not continuous but is interrupted between the legionaries' and the officers' quarters by a gap. Two pairs of post-holes were in the gap, one, together with one abortive hole, was in a line with the E. wall, the other just to the end of the line of the 7/7A party wall (Plate VI). Joining this pair from N. to S. lay a wooden beam (Pl. IV *b*) about 5 inches square in section, its under surface being at the level of the lip of the post-holes. The position of this beam being well below the earlier occupation level in the adjoining rooms, it would seem to have belonged to the scaffolding system.

Above these post-holes, about the level of the sand floors in the adjoining rooms, was a layer of clay 10 inches thick. Above this was rubble and a surface of cobbles. These were found all over the part excavated, except that towards the E. they seemed to have been partly robbed, but they are not shown westwards on the plan (Pl. VI) in order to show the beam and post-holes.

Now this surface as found is roughly flush with the upper cement floor in the buildings, about 2 feet 6 inches above the earlier sand floor level in 7A. It is well above the footings, being level with the top of the second course of ashlar in the S. wall of room 9 (Pl. II *c*), and it seems therefore clear that this paving was not laid down until the time of the second occupation level.

THE OFFICERS' QUARTERS

Of the officers' quarters little can be said; they were less well built than the legionaries' building, for, except in one or two of the rooms in the S. end, the cement floors are of relatively poor quality. But the most striking feature is the construction of the footings, which, instead of being coursed with mortar, used only clay. This definite inferiority cannot be taken as evidence for a different date of construction, for the finds in connection with the first floors were of equally early date. All that can be suggested is that the unit which built this portion was under a less conscientious chief.

About the plan and the uses of the rooms nothing can be said except that the drains out of the NE. chamber, No. 13, suggest that this was used as a wash-house. There was strong discoloration of the sand below the corner of No. 13, due doubtless to leakage from the drain here.

A strange feature was the general absence of fireplaces. Though no room was completely cleared, both faces of the N.-S. walls were followed, and if hearths had been built against them, as in the legionaries' quarters, they must have been found. The only conclusion is that they were built against the E.-W. walls, which it was not possible to follow through. One hearth was indeed found in the NE. corner of room 9 on the lower floor. It consisted of a semicircle of broken tiles laid in clay.

There was evidence of a change of plan at the time of the laying down of the upper, cement, floor, for in room 18 the footings of a cross-wall were found, over which the cement floor was laid (Pl. II b).

On the E. side of room 10 were found the beginnings of a later cross-wall above the upper, cement, floor, but no trace of it was found when the opposite, W., wall of room 10 was cleared.

The evidence of the apparent burning and of the remodelling or demolition of the building in late Antonine times has already been dealt with.

The block was wider than that designed for the legionaries, and, dispensing with a verandah, reached to the edge of the roadway, a few of the cobbles of which were located in the edge of the trench that uncovered the W. wall. A block of unusual size (37 inches N.-S. by 29 inches E.-W., with a thickness varying from 13 inches on the E. to 17 inches on the W.) lay at the SW. corner, the footings adjoining which had been destroyed. This block is seen in the foreground of Pl. V b.

THE DRAINS

Running downwards with a fall of about 1 in 12 towards the E. a large drain was found parallel to and about 4 feet N. of the N. wall of the block (Fig. 3). It had been made by cutting a channel in the natural rock about 4 feet 6 inches wide and 15 inches deep. Against the sides of this channel dry stone walls varying from 1 foot to 1 foot 8 inches in thickness were built to a height of 3 feet 3 inches. The stones, of varying sizes, were laid in roughly horizontal courses. They were roughly hewn to lie horizontally, but otherwise only the faces were tooled. The sixth,

SECTION ON LINE A-B



SURFACE OF TURF

95 feet above Sea level

SECTION ON LINE C-D

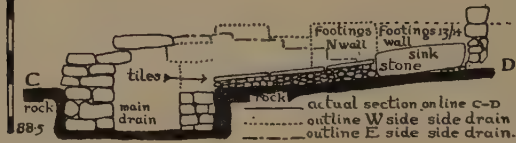


Fig. 3.—THE DRAINS.

top, course projected corbel-wise so as to permit the use of not too large covering blocks. These were *in situ* just E. of the building (Plate IV *d*) and again at the W. end of the part uncovered opposite the 13/14 party wall (Plate IV *a*). In between the covering blocks had been robbed (Plate III *a*). The width of the actual drain between the walls was about 2 feet and the height to the bottom of the covering stones about 3 feet 3 inches. The gap between the projecting top course was about 15 inches. The covering blocks were approximately 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches long, 6 inches thick, and from 1 foot to 2 feet 6 inches wide. There was no direct evidence of the Roman surface level here, but if the levels of the road to the N. and of the wall-footings to the S. are considered, it is probable that the side walls of the drain were hidden but that the cover stones were visible. In the floor of the drain are three channels which extend under the side walls to the sides of the rock cutting. There was nothing to explain the easternmost channel, and it is probable that the westernmost actually served no purpose but had been cut by mistake in the wrong place, for it is narrower and shallower than the other two. The central channel, however, about 8 inches wide and 6 inches deep at the bottom of its curve, was probably designed as a bed for the lead piping that formed the continuation of a side drain out of the NE. corner of 13, the stone-built channel with which this begins being visible in Plate IV *d*. Such an arrangement would prevent the piping's forming any obstruction in the main drain. No piping was found, but its course could be traced downwards on the southern side of the S. wall of the drain by discoloration due to leakage.

Nothing was found to suggest a date for the construction of the drain. Its interior was, however, completely filled with soft-blackish earth, and in the section from which the covering stones had been robbed were two bits of Purbeck marble having one surface roughly polished, and four bits of pottery of late second- or third-century origin.

It is probable that room 13 was either a stable or a wash-house, for in the NW. corner was a large stone sloping down to the N. evidently serving as a sink-stone, 3 feet 4 inches E.-W. measurement by 2 feet 8 inches N.-S. Along the S. side was a small wall or parapet built to a height of 14 inches of stones about 8 inches wide. The stone has two right angles in the corners formed by the parapet, the 13/14 party wall and the N. wall, but the E. side of the stone is rounded off. Near this rounded edge are the remains of an iron staple, and it looks as if this

staple and the parapet between them had supported some kind of basin. From the stone a drain runs into the main drain, passing through the N. wall, though the footings were destroyed at this point. The sides were built of smallish stones some 15 inches high and the bottom was paved with three roofing tiles (Fig. 3 and Pls. III *a* and IV *a*), the uppermost of which had one corner chipped off to make it fit against the sink-stone. This tile shows the impress of a dog's paws. The sink-stone rests on the rock, while the tiles which form the floor of the drain rest on a layer of cobbles some 6 inches thick above the rock. The fall is about 1 in 10. The lowest tile stops at the outer edge of the wall of the main drain, which is here not built up above the level of the rock, so that the side drain has a further fall on to the side wall of the main drain before reaching its channel.

THE ROAD

The trench that uncovered the E. wall of the building was continued northwards beyond the main drain, and revealed the northern half of a

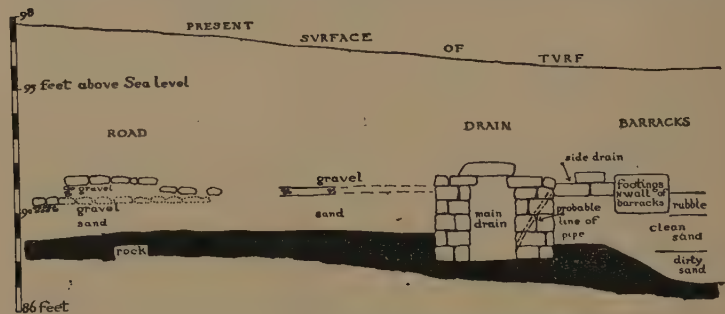


Fig. 4.—SECTION THROUGH MAIN DRAIN AND ROADWAY.

paved road running E.-W. along the southern portion of the *intervallum*. The paving cobbles which were irregular in form showed marks of wear. Two surfaces were found (Pl. IV *c* and Fig. 4). The N. edge of the lower surface, which was on the level of the corbelled course of the main drain, was 16 feet 3 inches N. of the N. edge of the drain. The cobbles rested on a foundation of gravel above the sandy 'roach.' The upper surface was 10 inches higher, the cobbles lying on 6 inches of gravel packed over the lower surface, but the lower surface projected 15 inches further to

the N. than the upper. Unfortunately nothing was found in the metalling to indicate when either of these surfaces was laid down.

The southern half of the road was found to be destroyed. Part of the gravel foundation was found between 4 feet and 6 feet 6 inches N. of the drain. From 8 feet 8 inches to 11 feet 4 inches N. of the drain a set of cobbles was found intermediate in level between the two surfaces and probably belonging to a repair of the earlier road, and beyond that the upper surface was found undisturbed for a stretch of 3 feet 8 inches.

It was unfortunately impossible with the resources at this time available to continue this cut northwards across the *intervallum* to the neighbourhood of the rampart. It is hoped to do so on a future occasion, but it is realised that the presence of the city wall may make it impossible to approach the rampart very closely.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY TILE KILN (PL. V c AND d)

In the SE. part of room 18 was found a double arched furnace, presumably for heating a superimposed tile kiln probably of the fourteenth century. For the floor the upper Roman cement layer had been utilised. Externally it measured approximately 6 feet 6 inches in both length and breadth. The S. end, which projected over into the passage-way, 8, was blocked by a wall, doubtless built of Roman cut stones about 1 foot thick, three courses of which were standing to a height of 18 inches. The openings were at the N. end. The arches were in a double series of five each, and sprang at the E. and W. sides from a base of sandstone 12 inches thick, the top of which is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the cement floor, and in the centre from a base formed of bricks about 9 inches square and equally $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick. The arches were built of single tiles $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide by $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep by $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and had the corners of the under ends chamfered off leaving sides 4 inches long. They were separated by gaps $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide. The bottom tiles of each pair of arches were set back to back along the central base.

In the side walls the outer 8 inches was built up of sandstone, but the space between the arches, a thickness of 4 inches, was built up of similar tiles broken to size and packed with clay which had subsequently been baked to terracotta by the furnace. Thus the side walls were two-thirds sandstone and one-third tile. Along the central base there was no trace of any tile or other wall between the arches.

Of the tile arches, one was found almost undamaged at the N. end, and the wall near it stood to 8 courses of tiles, a height of 11 inches above the sandstone base. The bottom end of the central tile of the arch was $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the floor, and the span at the base was 2 feet.

This series of five arches with the gaps between extended for 4 feet 8 inches, and the structure was completed by building against the northernmost pair of tile arches a pair of arches of the same span with bricks 11 inches long, $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide, and $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches thick set, with the long side N.-S. forming the thickness of the arch. These bricks were apparently not baked but were fired at the outer edges by the furnace itself. At the sides the whole got fired—or possibly these bricks were baked beforehand—but in the upper parts of the arches the bricks gradually become unbaked clay from below upwards.

The side walls were buttressed at the N. end by an additional thickness of about 4 inches on the E. side and 16 inches on the W.

Nothing, of course, was left of the upper storey, the kiln itself.

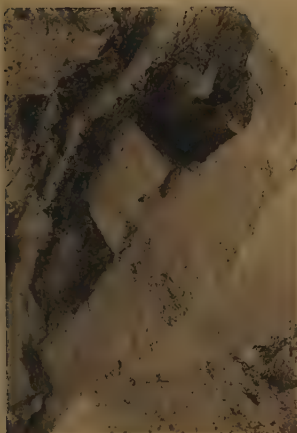
A similar kiln of rather larger dimensions was found at Repton in 1866, and is described by Llewellyn Jewitt.¹

It is intended to publish an account of the objects found during the excavation in a future volume.

1. Llewellyn Jewitt, *Ceramic Hist. of Great Britain*, 1883, pp. 366 ff. We owe this reference to Mr. W. Haswell.



a



b



c



d

a. W. WALL OF 11 FROM W.

c. S. WALL OF 9 AND COBBLED ROAD BETWEEN
9 AND 7A FROM SW.

b. 9/18 WALL, UPPER CEMENT FLOORS IN 9 AND 18
FROM NE.

d. ANTONINE DEPOSIT OVER 10/17 WALL FROM NW.

CHESTER. EXCAVATIONS IN THE DEANERY FIELD.



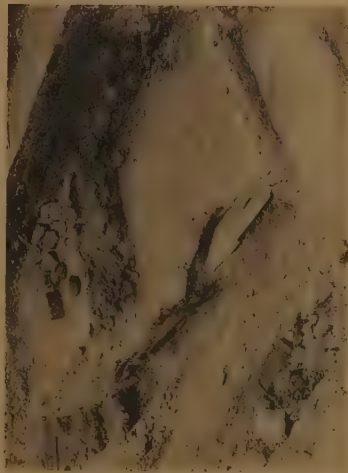
b



a



d



c

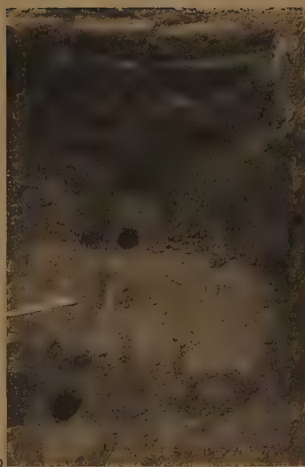
a. SIDE AND MAIN DRAINS FROM E.
c. 7A FROM SW.

b. HEARTH IN 6A FROM E.
d. 7A AND 6A FROM NW, SHOWING HEARTHS.

CHESTER. EXCAVATIONS IN THE DEANERY FIELD.



a



b



c



d

a. SIDE DRAIN FROM S.

c. ROAD FROM N.
MAIN DRAIN BEYOND.

b. S. WALL OF 9. POST-HOLES AND BEAM UNDER
COBBLED ROAD. FROM S.

d. E. END OF MAIN DRAIN. NE. CORNER OF 13
BEYOND. FROM N.

CHESTER. EXCAVATIONS IN THE DEANERY FIELD.



a



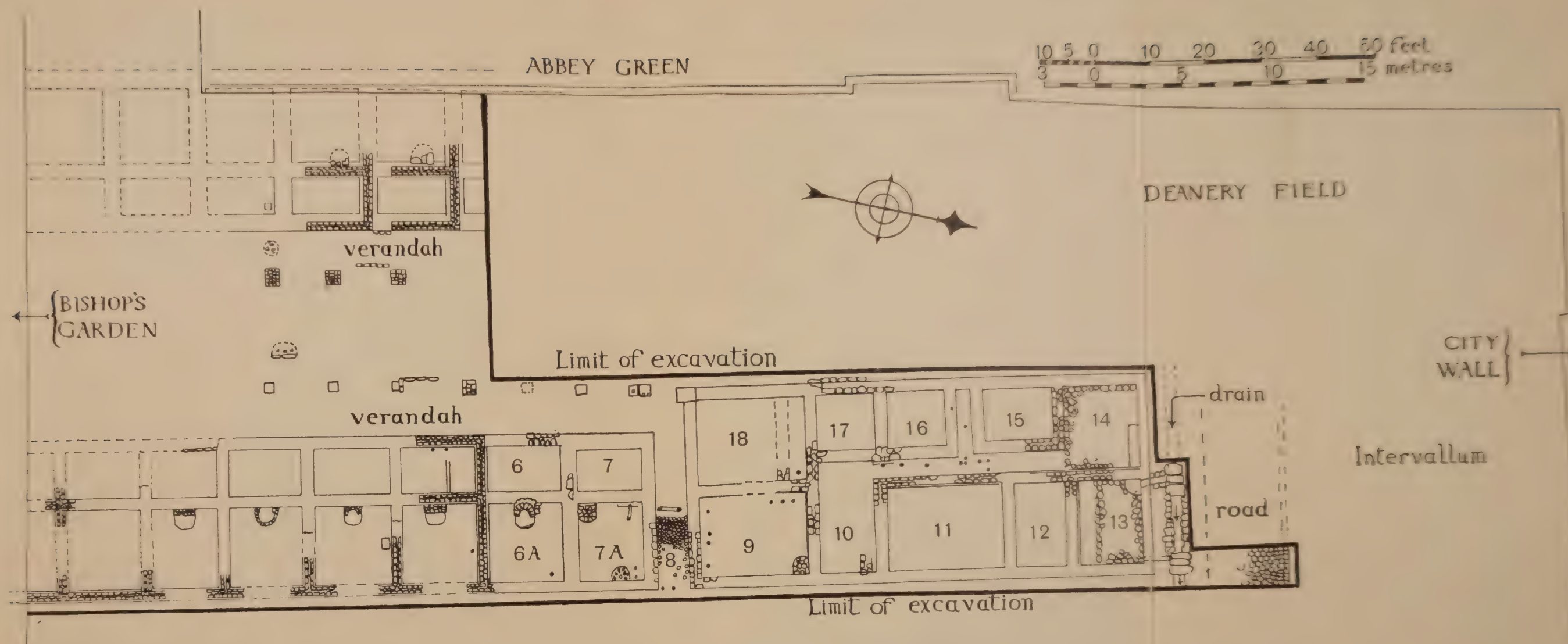
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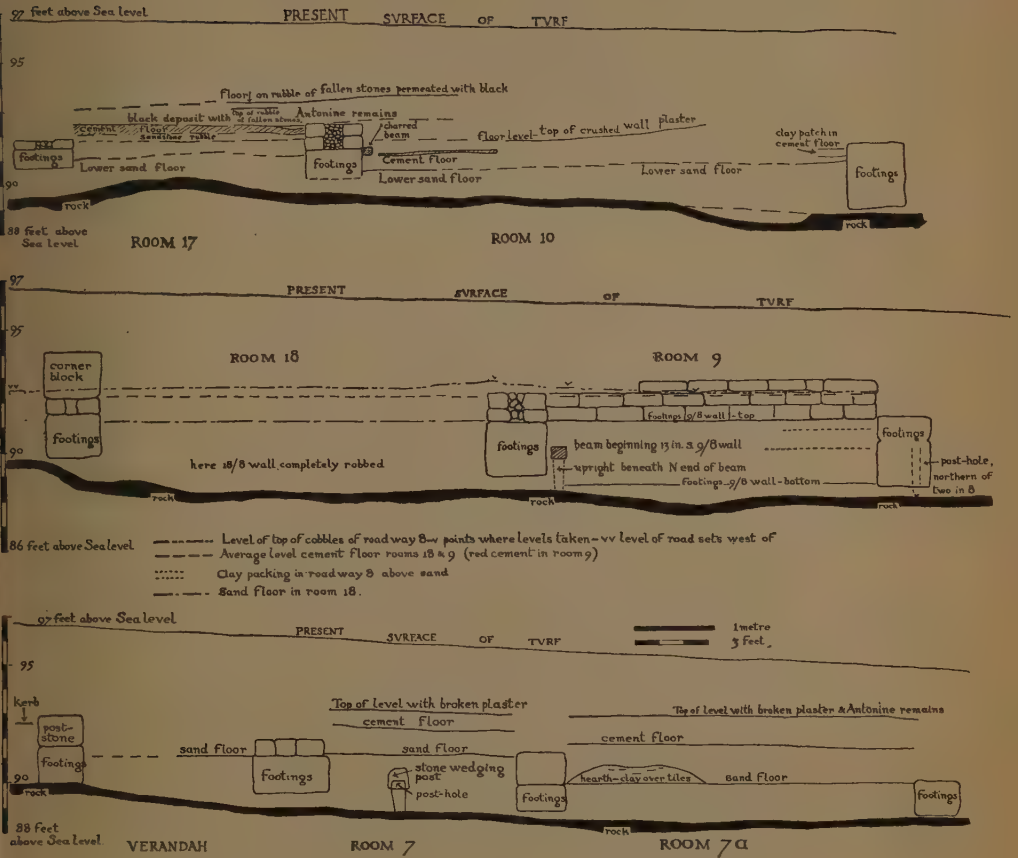
c

a. W. wall of 11 from E.
b. SW. corner stone of 18, beyond verandah post-stones, from N.
c. 14th century kiln-furnace, from N.

CHESTER. EXCAVATIONS IN THE DEANERY FIELD.



CHESTER: DEANERY FIELD. PLAN OF EXCAVATED AREA.



CHESTER: DEANERY FIELD. THREE SECTIONS THROUGH BARRACK BUILDINGS.

THE FRINGE OF THE BOWL OF THYRSIS

BY A. Y. CAMPBELL

WITH PLATE VIII

THEOCRITUS, *Idylls*, I, 27-31, appears in editions generally as follows:—

- 25 αἶγά τέ τοι δωσῶ κτλ. (25+26.)
 27 καὶ βαθὺν κισσύβιον κεκλυσμένον ἀδεί κηρῶ,
 ἀμφῶδες νεοτευχές, ἔτι γλυφάνοιο ποτόσδον.
 τῷ περὶ μὲν χεῖλῃ μαρύεται ὑψόθι κισσός,
 30 κισσὸς ἐλιχρύσῃ κεκοιμένος· ἃ δὲ κατ' αὐτόν
 καρπῷ ἔλιξ εἰλείται ἀγαλλομένα κροκόνετι.

These last two lines, as everybody knows, are far from clear; and the most obvious difficulty consists in *κεκοιμένος*, 'be-dusted.' How can ivy, in art any more than in actuality, be 'be-dusted' with helichrys (everlasting) or with any other flower or plant? The expression is nonsense. There is therefore corruption here.

I can see an alteration by which *κεκοιμένος* could be saved. It does not seem to have been proposed,¹ which is surprising, because it is neat and impossible, and such suggestions generally appear from somewhere. *Κισσὸς ἐπὶ χρύσῳ κεκοιμένος*, 'ivy gold-dusted'; for ἡ ἐπὶ χρύσῳ κόνις is gold dust in Pollux, vii. 97. As will appear presently, apropos our illustrations, ivy as decoration might be gilded; but the effect of the gilding would not be so described in poetry, and it is clearly—and, in fact, notoriously—*κεκοιμένος* which is the main corruption.

This form, which is correct for the pf. part. Pass. of *κοιῶ*, appears here in only three of the (I think) eighteen MSS. concerned, all the rest of which, including K the best, have *κεκοινισμένος*. Guidance must be sought from the older, the less interpolated tradition. Emending is like a face-climb.

1. The *idea* has been, *via* mistranslation, but I am not reckoning with that.

With my left hand clutching the letters and my right holding hard on the sense, I try to make progress in the direction of a participle which (by contrast) a poet might conceivably have used. *Κεκορισμένος*? 'Caressed by'? True, Liddell and Scott say 'fondle, caress'; and it would be pretty; but no, *κορίζομαι* with its compound *ὑποκ.* is only used of tender language, never of tender touch. I make a very slightly bolder move, and find myself in a firm and comfortable position on *κεκορυθμένος*.¹ Ivy crested with helichrys; very pleasing. And all at once I discover that of the three passages of ancient poetry which reckon as acknowledged imitations of our passage, every single one contains the word *κόρυμβος*; they are, *Culex*, 141-4, *hederae* . . . *pinguntque aureolos viridi pallore corymbos*, Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 35-9, particularly *vitis* | *diffusos hedera vestit pallente corymbos*, Nonnus, *Dion.* xix. 123-9, which Fritzsche quotes here in his edition of Theocritus, thus supplying me (for I will take it from him in the meantime) with τοῦ περι χείλεος ἄκρου ἐπ' ἀμπελόεντι κορύμβῳ | κισσὸς κτλ. Now *κόρυμβος* is merely a fancy form of *κόρυς* and means properly 'crest'; Herodotus, vii. 218, applies it to the crest of a hill, similarly Aeschylus, *Persae*, 659; and all its other meanings are simply specialisations of the idea 'crest'.²

Yes, emending *is* like a face-climb. For this, unfortunately, despite such attractions, appears now to be only the beginning of further difficulties. Not even with *κεκορυθμένος* can I, any more than before, get the language of these two lines either to run smoothly or to give sense that is above suspicion. The difficulties are as follows:—

1. 'But the tendril winds about (or along) "it" exulting in her yellow fruitage.' Since helichrys cannot be said to have *καρπός* (nor, if it could be, can it be here in pod, but in flower), the *ἐλιξ* is the *ivy's* tendril; and 'it' is the helichrys. But the former half of the word *ἐλίχρυσος* is the same word, substantially, as *ἐλιξ*. It seems odd and awkward to have *ἐλιξ* contrasted with *ἐλίχρυσος*, and not less so when the two *ἐλι*-s are in the same position in their successive hexameters.

1. The fact that Hesychius reports a by-form *κεκορυσμένος* may ease this change for some.

2. That *κεκορυθμένος* is the participle corresponding to *κόρυμβος* is not merely thus obvious, but can be proved from passages where Nonnus plays upon the verb in this connection; e.g. XIV, 310-12, *κορύσσειο καὶ σύ, Κελαινεύ, | χαλκῶν ἔχων τμητῆρα κορυμβοφόρου Διονύσου* | *ἐγχεῖ δ' οὐ πέλε θύρσος ὁμοῖος*; or if that is not thought absolutely decisive, there is XXI, 39, where the vocalised vine Ambrosie says *εἰς σέ καὶ ἀμπελδεσσα κορύσσομαι, ὅρα τις εἴπῃ* | *Βασσαρίδες κτείνουσι καὶ ἐν πετάλοις φωνῆας*; with which cf. the phrase *ἀμπελδεῖς κόρυμβος*, and note, on the conclusion of her speech, *τοῖα μὲν ἀμπελδεσσα κορυμβοφόρῳ φάτο φωνή*, 53.

2. It is very strange, and so unlike any other description of two plants intertwined, that the helichrys should just be mentioned barely, to be referred to presently as 'it.' Was it worth while at that rate bringing in the helichrys at all? What description there is all goes to the ivy; this seems a curious violation of the Greek principle of balance in such matters.

3. It is hardly happily conceived, to represent the ivy as 'exulting in her yellow fruitage' and at the same time as twining round a golden flower. To the extent that there is *any* difference,¹ this golden beauty will outshine her saffron rival.

4. The iteration *κισσός*, | *κισσός* *κτλ.* is a typically Alexandrian elegance, and imitated as such by Latin poets. Normally, to say the least, the resumption amplifies; it does not resume simply in order to attach something else. Thus, *Id.* XIII, 43-4:—

ὔδατι δ' ἐν μέσσοις Νύμφαι χορὸν ἀρτίζοντο,
Νύμφαι ἀκοίμητοι, δειναὶ θεαὶ ἀγροιώταις.

5. If the ivy is 'crested' (or, for the matter of that, 'be-dusted'; or, indeed, anything of the kind) with helichrys, it can hardly decently be said to twine round the same. Can you wind yourself round your crest? No. (Still less, needless to say, round your dust.)

6. If *κεκορυθμένος* be right—and we have seen how unanimous is the testimony of imitations—it presents the serious anomaly that here alone is a plant said to be 'crested' with another plant. In our three imitations, and not only there but everywhere else, the *corymbi* of a plant are its own 'crests'—or, as we should say, *clusters*—of fruit. And above all—and this is still more striking testimony to the truth of my *κεκορυθμένος* here—*corymbi* both in Greek and in Latin are *par excellence* the clusters of the fruit (or berries) of the ivy.²

It will be observed that objections 1 to 5 all point in one direction, and that in that same direction my *κεκορυθμένος* (reached, as we saw, through wholly separate considerations) even more emphatically points. *Only one plant is indicated, the ivy.* Helichrys is a beautiful name; it is also Theocritean (*Id.* II, 78), but it must go. To fill its place is not difficult.

1. And there is not really any; cf. *Id.* II, 78, τοῖς δ' ἦν ξανθοτέρα μὲν ἐλιχρόσσιο γενειάς.

2. See Liddell and Scott⁹, s.v. III; Ovid, *Met.* III, 664-5; etc. Cf. Plin. *N.H.* XVI, 146 (Mayhoff).

One knows that the modern botanical name for ivy is *Hedera Helix*, and that that comes from the *κισσὸς ἑλιξ* of Theophrastus. I write :

κισσὸς ἑλιξ χρυσῶ κεκορυθμένος,

and I have hardly done so before confirmations come crowding in upon me.

'Trailing ivy with its bunches of golden berries,' 'the "trailer" or tendril that exults in its saffron fruitage'—these are one and the same plant, and the evidence that they are so is independent of our passage. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XVI, 147 (Mayhoff), in referring to the varieties¹ of ivy belonging to the general type called '*hederae nigrae*,' describes one as having '*semen crocatum*' (clearly our *κροκόεντι*), as marked by the largest *corymbi* among those of all the '*nigrae*,' and as divisible into two sub-varieties, one of which the Greeks call '*chrysocarpus*'—a term patently corresponding to my *χρυσῶ κεκορυθμένος*. Moreover, he adds that it is the ivy with *semen crocatum*, '*cuius coronis poetae utuntur*.' The same variety is again referred to by Pliny in XXIV, 77, as '*hedera quam chrysocarpum appellavimus, baccis aurei coloris*.' It is also referred to by Dioscorides in II, 210, as *χρυσόκαρπος*, and in *Parab.* I, 72, as—*κισσὸς χρυσοκόρυμβος*.

With our *μαρύεται . . . κισσὸς ἑλιξ . . . κεκορυθμένος* compare Plutarch, II, 648 f., *τοῦ κιττοῦ . . . τὸ ἐλικῶδες . . . σφαλλόμενον ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ . . . αὐτὸς ὁ κόρυμβος*.

We have seen the *aureoli corymbi* of the ivy of *Culex*, 144. The term *κόρυμβος* has, however, other applications, and in particular may denote a cluster of grapes. That is its meaning in our already noticed imitation—or, rather, adaptation—Verg., *Ecl.* iii., 35-9, where the pattern is of ivy interwoven with vine. What of the Nonnus? Well, by *ἀμπελοῖς κόρυμβος* in XII, 181, he certainly means a bunch of grapes; he is there describing the posthumous metamorphosis of a person *Ampelos* into his eponymous plant. But in Nonnus those words might² just as easily mean '*vine-like cluster*,' i.e. of berries; and that is clearly³ what they mean—it is all there

1. I cannot feel entirely satisfied with Mayhoff's text here: adjustments designed to secure exact correspondence with Theophrastus are precarious; surely our context is against M.'s insertion of *ut*; I would read and punctuate '*. . . racemus. Simili modo in nigra, alicui et semen nigrum, alii crocatum*,' etc. Indeed, this is the obvious drift of the words; even if the rest did not show it, the *et* after *alicui* would.

2. Cf. e.g. XIX, 260, *κισσῶ βοτρύεντι*, with which cf. *Anth. Pal.*, IX, 363, 11-12.

3. See next note.

is room for them to mean—in XIX, 128. But now comes a hitch—say, rather, an apparent fatality. For this is what I found in Fritzsche's quotation of that passage: 129, *κισσὸς ἐλιχρύσοιο πέριξ δαιδάλλετο κόσμῳ*. Turn, however, to the apparatus criticus of Koechly's Nonnus, and instead of a fatality is disclosed yet another confirmation, a pretty one. For *ἐλιχρύσοιο* here is no Nonnus; it is an 'emendation,' and its author, Graefe, very properly did not put it into the text. What the MSS. of Nonnus read in 129 is what I, wholly unaware of that, have been led by the light of reason to restore in Theocritus.

τοῦ περὶ χεῖλεος ἄκρον ἐπ' ἀμπελόεντι κορύμβῳ¹
 129 κισσὸς ἔλιξ, χρυσέῳ δὲ πέριξ δαιδάλλετο κόσμῳ.

Another circumstance which looks at first like an objection (but in this case a slight objection) proves not only to be yet one further confirmation, but to be illuminating in another regard. As we have seen, our Theocritean ivy is Pliny's *hedera nigra*, which is the *κισσὸς μέλας* of Theophrastus (*Hist. Plant.*, III, xviii. 6 and 9 and 10). Both Theophrastus and (in his wake) Pliny are emphatic that *κισσὸς ἔλιξ*, *hedera helix*, is a different plant—a plant, in fact, which is *fruitless*. As against this, however, it is to be observed: (1) that both refer to a popular belief that the 'helix' is not a different ivy, but simply *immature* ivy; (2) that in using this term at all these naturalists are merely conferring a specific connotation upon an

1. *κορύμβῳ*, Graefe, for *καρήνῳ* (another common, but perhaps not so common, Nonnian line-ending); cf. XII, 181; XXXV, 339 and 360, where *ἀμπ. κόρυμβος* recurs. With this easy change these two lines give excellent sense. It is a great pity Meineke did not pause to construe and accordingly imagined a lacuna of one line after *ἔλιξ*. Then comes Koechly and prints Graefe's *ἐλιχρύσοιο*, then comes Wilamowitz, and taking that over adds his own similar false analogy of *ἡγάλλετο* for *δαιδάλλετο*, then comes Mr. Gow and, without the smallest warrant apart from these vagaries, obelises the entire (to him, inconvenient) line. Must I then point out the obvious fact that the subject of *δαιδάλλετο* is *κρητήρ* implied in *τοῦ*, and that with *κισσὸς ἔλιξ* we are to supply *ἐστὶ*? As the stem of the ivy in this case goes round the *edge* of the rim, it is inevitably 'upon,' or above, the vine-like bunches of berries which are supposed to hang from it. Of course *δαιδάλλετο* is right; cf. in a companion (and dependent) passage to this same Theocritean *ἐκφρασις*, Moschus, II, 43, *δαίδαλα πολλὰ* (with *χρυσέῳ* in next line); cf. also Nonnus himself, XXXVII, 127, *χρυσέῳ δαιδάλματι*. But the one improvement which, small as it is, might be made, these scholars do not make; for Nonnus would have done better with *ἄκρον* for *ἄκρον*, and probably did; that is the regular phrase, cf. *e.g.* the proverb *πολλὰ μετὰ τὸ πέλε κῦλκος καὶ χεῖλεος ἄκρον*, Zenob., *Prov.* 5, 71; and cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mort.*, 17, 1, *Μερετῇ 7, Apol.* 6, *Indoct.* 26; also *Batrachomyom.* 154. [P.S.—I could not get access to Ludwig's Nonnus, but Mr. J. M. Edmonds has kindly transcribed from it and Graefe at my request; I note:—1. L. finds 129 entirely sound. 2. In 128 he keeps *καρήνῳ* and writes *ομφαλόεντι*; but even if I did not regard *κορύμβῳ* as proved (in the light of all my citations) by the three words which follow, I should find this impossible. 3. *ἄκρον* was thought of by Graefe, *orit. n.*]

epithet which proclaims itself as having been originally poetical and general; (3) that as actually used by the poets in connection with ivy, the word is of quite general reference: Eur. *Phœn.*, 651-2; Aristoph. *Thesm.*, 1000; Nonnus, IX, 264, XII, 98, *κισσὸς ἔλιξ*, XIV, 215, *ἐλικώδεϊ κισσῶ*.

What Theocritus here calls *κισσὸς ἔλιξ* is what Theophrastus calls *κισσὸς μέλας*. And so at last is explained something which had been, in its little way, a mystery, and which had put one scholar on a wrong scent. Among other words with which Hesychius glosses *ἔλιξ* is—very odd as it has hitherto appeared—*μέλας*. *Id.*, XXV, 127, applies to *ταῦροι* the Homeric epithet of *βόες*, *ἔλικες* to wit, and Fritzsche on the strength of this gloss actually went the length of understanding it there as *colore nigro*. The reasoning of his note looks plausible—until you glance at 131 and see *εἰλιπόδεσσιν*, which knocks the bottom out of his argument. And, indeed, for all our lost literature we do after all know a lot of Greek—we know quite enough to know that *ἔλιξ* never in its life meant ‘black.’ It is clear that this gloss, like not a few others in Hesychius, comes from Theocritean scholarship. Somebody, recognising the full and exact description, had very aptly as well as correctly given the poet’s *κισσὸς ἔλιξ* its prose or scientific equivalent by simply jotting *μέλας* above *ἔλιξ*. The poet himself used these epithets indifferently, according as either suited his verse or imagination; *Id.*, XI, 46, *ἔστι μέλας κισσός*.

It is no longer necessary to our argument, but it is true and worth remarking: (1) That *κεκορυθμένος* is common in Homer, and Theocritus is here in epic vein, so far at least as diction goes; for all of this ‘*ἐκφρασις*’ is after *Iliad*, XVIII. (2) That *χρυσῶ κεκορυθμένος* is felicitous, for recalling, with bold transference, phrases such as *δοῦρε δύω κεκορυθμένα χαλῶκ*.¹ (3) That *κορύσσεται* ‘are crested, rear their crests’ appears once again in the Theocritean collection, XXV, 94, where it is finely used. (4) That there is clearly reminiscence, with a proper difference, of *Odyssey*, IV, 616, *χρυσῶ δ’ ἐπὶ χεῖλεα κεκράνται*. (For there cannot, I think, be much doubt that all this exquisite and detailed carving goes back, at least in some degree, to a real and a metal original, although of course our *χρυσῶ* is ostensibly descriptive and not metallic.) (5) That Longus, who in his *Daphnis and Chloe* shows the closest familiarity with the bowl of Thyrsis and reproduces one word after another from it, refers in I, 15, to

1. For *χρυσ. κεκορ.*, cf. Eur., *I.A.*, 1071-3.

a κισσύβιον; which κισσύβιον is 'partially gilded,' διάχρυσον; and that in II, 26, he refers to κισσὸς κορυμβόφορος.

We have still to determine κατ' αὐτόν. For αὐτόν cannot now be helichrys, as there is none left. Nor can it be ivy; for the 'trailer' or tendril cannot be said to wind about the 'trailing ivy.' Are we then to read κατ' αὐτό, sc. τὸ κισσύβιον? No, that is quite impossible; because after κισσύβιον there has intervened the more specific location, τῷ περὶ μὲν χεῖλῃ. But now that phrase itself immediately shows me what I must do. That μὲν corresponds to this δέ; it follows then that that χεῖλη 'lips' (rim) must correspond to this—what? 'Ears,' of course: that is, handles; a sense which is very frequent, and as old as Homer. We must read κατ' ὠτων. That had, indeed, already been tentatively conjectured by Meineke; which was very clever of him, since he was not forced into it, as I have been.¹ No one, I think, has accepted the conjecture; it gives me great pleasure to prove it right. For I have in fact proved it; but true assurance makes double-sure, and in a moment I am going to adduce further evidence from an entirely different and a concrete source. First, however, I must set out a clean text.

τῷ περὶ μὲν χεῖλῃ μαρνέται ὑψόθι κισσός,
κισσὸς ἔλιξ χρυσῷ κεκορυθμένος· ἂ δὲ κατ' ὠτων
καρπῷ ἔλιξ εἰλεῖται ἀγαλλομένα κροκόνετι.

Around its rim winds the 'trailing' ivy, while the 'trailer' goes curling 'down over' (κατά+gen.) the handles. What could be more natural than such decoration, even had we not already been prepared for it by the epithet 'two-handled,' ἀμφῶες, 28? What, altogether, could be more Grecian and articulate?

In these circumstances no one, I think, will be offended by the iteration of ἔλιξ as second word of two consecutive hexameters. I at least am not. And anyhow the Alexandrians did so elsewhere than (as so frequently) in the first word.²

I have demonstrated my solution (with little exception) as if no one had ever tackled this difficulty before. That is often the most convenient

1. He says 'fortasse' and 'suspiciabar'; his only reason was the parallel which he so happily adduces, Virgil, *Ecl.*, III, 45, 'et circum molli est *aneas* amplexus *acantho*.'

2. Callim., *Hymns*, III, 260-1, ἀτμήση (-σαντι), 8-9, third foot τόξα (-ον), II, 71-2, Καρνεῖον (-ε), Theocr., I, 97-8, Ἐρωτα (-ος), III, 15-16, μοι, V, 4-5-6, σύριγγα, 139-40, XI, 22-3, XV, 143-4, XXII, 25-6, XXIII, 19-20; Moschus, I, 4-5, II, 61-2; Bion., I, 12-13.

and (to one's argument) fairest way of expounding such matters. It is also in point of fact how I proceeded, as it is indeed almost the only way in which a not unduly self-confident scholar can avoid the risk of being prematurely overborne by the learning and authority of his predecessors. But when it is done, there remains the duty of taking cognisance of previous labours, and drawing attention to such anticipations as one may be able to find. In the present instance I can see only two earlier treatments to which it should seem necessary to refer. Of Wilamowitz, *Textgeschichte der Griechischen Bukoliker* (1906), pp. 223-9, I need not say much. The learned and sanguine Prussian is here in cautious and candid mood. He is naturally fully alive to the impossibility of *κεκοινήμενος*, but in six long pages has to admit that he can provide no substitute. '*Für κεκοινήμενος kommt nichts heraus.*' '*Nur hilft uns das nichts.*' '*So verzweifle ich ; aber nicht deshalb rede ich von der Stelle ; ich werde manche Kreuze setzen.*'

The other discussion is, both for better and worse, a very different matter. In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIII (1913), pp. 207-22, Mr. A. S. F. Gow laid all lovers of Theocritus under his debt. From various ancient works of art he gave most pertinent and charming illustration of the beauties and vivacities of the decoration of this bowl which our goat-herd gives to Thyrsis.¹ In particular, he adduced a silver amphora from Bagni di Vicarello, now in the British Museum, with the object of explaining our lines 29-31. A different photograph of this object is reproduced herewith, Plate VIII a. Unfortunately, however, the one thing which Mr. Gow does not ever seem able to do with his amphora is to use it. Although Theocritus here does not describe ivy wreathed with vine, Virgil in his adaptation does, and accordingly Mr. Gow has a footnote (p. 209, n. 14) on the extreme rarity of that combination in our remains of ancient art. Rare it is, but, as is obvious from a first glance at his photograph, it occurs on Mr. Gow's own vase : it is the lower of the two patterns ; yet he himself was apparently not aware of it (nor of the other example which I mention below). This, however, is a comparatively small matter. The real trouble comes when Mr. Gow proceeds to expound our passage. Here, instead of attending to what his vase might suggest or to what it did at least negative, he would seem to have addressed himself to the popular *tour de force* of defending a corruption by a series of false inferences.

1. Not, as Mr. Gow says, to Daphnis.

To the uses of *κόνις*, *κονίω*, etc., in Greek literature he gives not a thought. The dust that is as innumerable as the sand (*Iliad*, IX, 385), the thirsty sister of Mud (Aesch., *Agam.*, 495), the dust that surrounds armies, that drinks the blood of the slain, the dust of the arena¹—that dust of a hot and dry climate is never the soft pretty thing in Greek that it can occasionally be in English. *Κεκοινυμένος* is a common word; see the dictionaries² and compare, e.g. *ποσσὶ κονιορούνοισι*, Nonnus, XXIV, 28 (cf. XXXVII, 384). Instead of 'be-dusted,' Mr. Gow here mistranslates it 'spotted.'³ He then relates this 'spotted'—none too well, even so—to the very close group of eight almost contiguous little blobs which conventionally represent the ivy-fruit in Greek vase-paintings. We are not, however, here concerned with a painting but with a carved relief on a vessel; so Mr. Gow rightly adds the above-mentioned illustration of such a vessel. But this is a length to which even his improvised mistranslation 'spotted' refuses to accompany him. On the neck of his amphora the ivy-berries appear, possibly somewhat in excess of nature, as round, appreciable, distinct, and tangent lumps; only three of them are represented as visible in each cluster; the clusters are few and not very near together. So *that* was what the poet Theocritus meant by his 'be-dusted'—or rather, really, 'begrimed.' No, indeed, this interpretation is at two removes from truth, a mistranslation of a corruption.

On the handles of Mr. Gow's amphora is a pattern; it is not, indeed, the ivy drooping from above, but the vine, grapes and all, climbing from below; yet even so it might have suggested the possibility of the other alternative as a variation, and prompted Mr. Gow to reopen the question of Meineke's emendation. But as it happens, even among the comparatively rare survivals of metal vessels with relief ornament, is to be found a perfect illustration of *ἀ δὲ κατ' ὧτων | καρπῷ ἔλιξι εἰλείται ἀγαλλομένα*—and it would seem to be only by a freak that *κροκόειντι* itself is not also illustrated.⁴ A cantharus from the Hildesheim hoard is reproduced

1. Add e.g. *παγκόνιτα*, Soph., *Trach.*, 505.

2. Note also *κεκοινυμένος* *κεκοινυρωμένος*, Hesych.

3. *ἐλιχρύσφ* he understands, on the strength of a Zonaras-ex-Suida gloss, to mean the fruit of the ivy. This explanation, *a priori* most unlikely, would seem to be rebutted by the lexicographers' own quotation.

4. In both of these vases (and I am indebted to Mr. H. B. Walters of the British Museum for kindly answering my detailed inquiries about the amphora) the gilding is purely ornamental. In the amphora, ivy-leaves and berries, vine-leaves and even grapes, are all gilded; only the stems are not. In the cantharus, the vine-and-ivy pattern is completely gilded; the ivy on the handles is plain, except that the perverse artist has gilded, not the corymbi, but the leaves.

herewith (Plate VIII b) from a copy in the Institute of Archaeology, University of Liverpool. Among the outside decorations of this vase appears, once again, a combination of vine with ivy; the corymbi of the ivy being more numerous and also more closely berried than in the other example. But down the handles winds ivy only, exulting in its fruit.



SILVER-GILT VASES ILLUSTRATING THEOCRITUS, *Idylls*, 1.

a. FROM BAGNI DI VICARELLO.

b. FROM HILDERSHEIM (from a replica).

Scale 2:3.

SOME LIMESTONE HEADS FROM CYPRUS IN THE LIVERPOOL PUBLIC MUSEUMS

By J. P. DROOP

WITH PLATES IX-XIII

I AM indebted to the Director of the Liverpool Public Museums, Dr. Douglas A. Allan, for permission to make known a collection of limestone sculpture from Cyprus presented to the Museums in May 1872 by Captain Fothergill of the s.s. *Thessalia*.

Nothing further is known about the collection, and as it is thus completely undocumented it cannot claim to add much to the knowledge of Cypriote sculpture given us by the collection of General di Cesnola. But its publication seems worth while, for though mostly in poor condition some of the pieces have definite merit as works of art.

Captain Fothergill's gift consisted of a little pottery and one hundred and forty pieces of sculpture in the local limestones of Cyprus. Eleven of these, Nos. 9-13, 15-20,¹ are torsos of the well-known type of ' Temple Boy ' ²; three, Nos. 149-151, are the lower portions of statuettes representing standing draped figures ³; one, No. 14, is a torso of a draped male statuette with head and feet missing (these are all very poor work) : one, No. 152,⁴ is the left hand of a life-sized figure holding a bird ; one, No. 148, is a life-sized left hand gripping the head of a very small archaic-looking lion, probably from a figure of Herakles ⁵; one, No. 147, is the upper part of a seated draped female statuette wearing a hood and holding a child in a pointed cap on her left arm (the figure is broken just below the child's head) ⁶; one, No. 146, is the head of a similar figure ; one, No. 18, is part of a sepulchral stele with a draped female figure clasping the hand

1. The numbers are those of the Museums' inventory.

2. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, p. 186 ; *Atlas of the Cesnola Collection*, Vol. I, Pls. CXXX-CXXXII.

3. Cf. *Atlas*, *op. cit.* I, XV, 17.

4. Cf. *Atlas*, I, XXIX, 196.

5. Cf. *Atlas*, I, LXXXVII, 578. The small scale of the beast compared with that

of the hero seems to be a definitely Oriental convention.

6. Cf. *Atlas*, I, XXXVIII, 217, 252, and LVII, 396, 397.

of a missing figure to her left (perhaps fourth-century work)¹; and one, No. 7, is a columnar stele on which the name Aphrodite can be read.²

These may be dismissed since they lack individual merit and a parallel for each of them can be found in the Cesnola collection.

The remaining one hundred and nineteen pieces are heads of figures in the round. Half or more of these probably come from figures of 'Temple Boys,' though none of them will fit any of the eleven torsos of such figures, while the rest are from votive statues or statuettes which probably represented the donors.³

On mature consideration forty-four, here illustrated, alone deserve individual discussion. Of the total of one hundred and nineteen some thirty seem to date from the sixth century B.C., fifteen perhaps from the fifth century, three from the fourth century, and the rest, such as are not too much weathered to be dateable, from Hellenistic or Greco-Roman days.

A remarkable point, in view of the Cesnola collection, is the general Hellenic character of the early heads, the Assyrian and Egyptian influence visible in much early Cypriote sculpture being almost entirely absent. Another point, to which attention has perhaps not been called, is the occasional treatment of the eyes as flat projections without lids. This is no doubt careless and slack work and is here⁴ found only on small heads, but the interest of it lies in the fact that it appears in all periods from the sixth century B.C. (e.g. Pl. X, 14, 15, 16; Pl. XII, 29) through the fifth century (Pl. XI, 20), down, probably, to the Roman period (Pl. XIII, 38). The technical trick of making the outer corner of the upper eyelid overlap the lower is only found once on these heads, but it would be rash in Cyprus to assume therefore that none are later than the fifth century. The one head in which it is found, No. 129 (Pl. XII, 32), bears a distinct resemblance to one of the Muses on the Mantinea basis and may perhaps be of fourth-century date. To suggest a date in these circumstances must always be a hazardous business, but it is possible that No. 31 (Pl. XII, 33) belongs to the end of the fifth century. The unweathered portion suggests that it was a careful piece of work, and in the treatment of the hair in flat locks it is not unlike those two in the

1. Cf. *Atlas*, I, CXXXVIII, 1033.

2. Cf. *Atlas*, I, CXLVI-CXLVIII.

3. Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

4. A parallel is to be seen on the fragment of a female head in the British Museum from the Artemisium at Ephesus. Cf. Rodenwaldt, *Die Kunst der Antike (Hellas und Rom)*, 2nd ed., pp. 194, 195.

Cesnola collection¹ in which Myres saw an attempt at the manner of Polykleitus.² More puzzling is No. 26 (Pl. IX, 7), where, though the hair on the crown and back is worked in shallow locks, that on the brows is carved in stiff spiral curls in the manner of an earlier age. And the short sunk eyes with the upper lid almost buried under the brow suggest that this is a piece of archaism and that the head cannot be earlier than the late fourth century. The treatment of beard and moustache was here—the surface being merely raised—left entirely dependent on paint, though this has disappeared. On the earliest of the archaic figures, Nos. 25 (Pl. IX, 1), 34, and 123 (Pl. X, 11 and 10), the hair on the forehead is rendered by a projecting ridge divided by vertical nicks. The long hair is in each case shown by vertical grooves to indicate locks and horizontal grooving to show waves. This treatment in the case of No. 25, which seems to be the oldest, is continued over the head, the vertical grooves being brought up parallel with the edge of the forehead hair and then bent back slightly to make a V as they meet in a central groove running from back to front, which may be regarded as a parting. On either side other cross grooves from back to front represent waves in the hair. The other two heads are smaller and dispense with this, the hair behind the wreath, which is absent in No. 25, being shown by shallow, widely spread grooves radiating from the back of the crown.

Partly from the hair treatment, partly from the flat squareness of the head in which the original block has left its traces, No. 25 would seem to ante-date the others. While this head has no feature that would justify its ascription to an earlier century than the sixth, the shape of the head and its general treatment suggest that when it was made the art of carving stone in the round was still in its first youth, and lead us to wonder whether the grounds are well founded on which Professor Myres ascribes an extremely early beginning to the art in Cyprus.

On the heads of a slightly later stage, Nos. 23, 27, 28, and 29 (Pl. IX, 3, 4, 2, and 6), which can hardly be separated in time from that which Myres regards as marking the culmination of the Cypriote style,³ the forehead hair is treated by more elaborate methods. In No. 28 the hair is brought out from under the wreath in a series of separate locks like cylinders with corkscrew grooving which are carried down the bevelled front of the mass of hair, each ending in a knob. The bevel widens out

1. Cf. *Atlas*, I, Pl. CV, 684.

2. Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

3. *Atlas*, I, LXXII, 468; Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

from the forehead to the ear. In No. 29 we have the same series of cylindrical locks coming from under the wreath, but they end on the edge in knobs which surmount a lower row of knobs along the forehead. No. 27, on the other hand, has the front edge of the ridge of hair treated with cylinders representing curls rising from the forehead which meet a similar set coming from under the fillet, while on No. 23 the ends of similar locks emerging from the wreath are too much weathered for their treatment to be clear, but they surmount a row of upright spiral curls arranged along the brow.

The hair on the crown in all four is treated in shallow grooves which radiate from a point near the back. These are simple, except in the case of No. 27, where the raised portions are treated with shallow zigzag grooves made by turning a chisel over the soft stone with accompanying taps. This head in particular, though the treatment of details is different, has a suggestion of the bearded Attic head in the Louvre.¹ The rendering of the beard in rows of flat spiral curls appears to be peculiarly Cypriote not to be put down to any specific influence, and it is hard to find a parallel to it outside the island. The delicacy of the contours of Nos. 27, 28, and 29 make it a matter for regret that the craftsman who made them were unable to leave us any work in marble. No. 28 suggests Etruscan terracotta work,² but the resemblance perhaps lies only in the proportions, due to the length of the beard, and in the salient thin-lipped mouth, and the arched brows.

The same regret is inspired by No. 121 (Pl. X, 13), the one definitely feminine head among the archaic specimens which, despite its damaged state, is a thing of luminous beauty. She wears a necklace with a pendant, damaged, under her chin, and circular earrings. Her brows are crowned not with a wreath but with a kind of tiara, in front of which the hair is shown by four shallow grooves following the line of the head, two on the top and two on the face of the mass of hair. These are crossed by a series of short grooves dividing the hair in small square projecting lumps. On the crown the hair is shown by narrow shallow grooves radiating from the back. The long hair falling beneath the ears on each side is treated in front by vertical and horizontal grooves, behind by narrow vertical grooves crossed by two broad grooves. But the back of the head below

1. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, 552.

2. *E.g.* the man's head on the sarcophagus from Cervetri; cf. Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

the point from which the grooves on the crown radiate is treated with a criss-cross of narrow shallow lines. There are considerable traces of paint—a pink with rather more blue in it than is normal in the red used on these heads—on the hair and head band. In spite of the rude material and the scars of time, the delicate curve of her cheeks and lips lend her an appeal not unworthy of her better-known sisters.

Later, yet with the magic still in his fingers, was the artist who carved No. 32 (Pl. IX, 5), a head of youth or maiden, which has gathered to itself the charm that is just missed by so many of its fellows. One is tempted to regard this head as a reflection, perhaps standing almost alone, of the vision of Greek art vouchsafed to Cyprus for a brief period after the victory of the Eurymedon in 466 B.C. The hair on the forehead is in a double row of spiral curls, while on the crown a set of shallow grooves spring forward at about forty degrees from a central parting. At the back the hair forms a projecting peak above the wreath, below which its surface is treated with a set of criss-cross grooves which conceivably represent a confining net. This projecting artificial peak, representing apparently a definite *coiffure*, is found on Nos. 102 (Pl. XI, 20), 105 (Pl. XII, 29), 116 (Pl. X, 16), 68 (Pl. XI, 23), and on No. 138, while the criss-cross below the wreath is found, among others, on Nos. 38, 68, and 70. This feature forms a remarkable link between these heads and the porcelain rhyton found in a tomb with Mycenaean contents at Enkomi.¹

No. 30 (Pl. IX, 8) and No. 22 frankly present a puzzle and emphasise the difficulties of navigation presented by the uncharted sea of Cypriote artistic chronology. On the one hand, the bulging cheeks and eyes correlate these heads with some of those considered by Myres to show Oriental, mainly Assyrian, influence and dated by him to the first half of the seventh century B.C.² And even if we shrink from so remote a date, there is at any rate a very definite resemblance to 'Bluebeard' of the Acropolis Pediment to suggest at least a mid sixth-century date. On the other hand, the well-formed definite eyelids find their nearest parallel among our heads with those of No. 32, though the shape of the eye is more crude; also the treatment of the beard, what remains of it, is definitely more advanced than that seen on Nos. 17, 28, and 29, the second row of curls being elongated and an effort being made to show the nature of hair by subsidiary shallow grooves. The hairs of the

1. *Excavations in Cyprus by the British Museum*, Pl. III.

2. E.g. *Atlas*, I, XXXV, 222.

moustache are similarly indicated. On the forehead the hair is too much worn to show the exact treatment, but the mass in its greater prominence and deeper undercutting shows an advance in sculptural feeling. It seems then that we should look on this and its companion, No. 22, as actual later works following an earlier model.

Less grotesque is No. 24 (Pl. IX, 9), but much weaker. It is very much worn and the features are blurred, but it is easy to see beneath the veil which this seems to cast over it its relationship with the head which Myres picks as typical of the beginning of the decadence in Cypriote art.¹ The type is the same as No. 30, but the cheeks bulge less, and the eyeballs, though they protrude as much, are flatter. The cutting of the beard is deeper and its outer fringe has an appearance of having projected in corkscrew curls, but the weathering is too great for this to be certain. The hair on the crown is shown by a set of shallow wavy grooves radiating apparently from a point at the back of the crown on either side of a central parting, but the whole of the back of the head has been split away. The garland is the same as that worn by Nos. 32 and 68.

One head only, No. 114 (Pl. X, 19), wears a helmet of the well-known Cypriote type. From the treatment of the hair, which falls from beneath the helmet behind in a heavy fan-shaped mass on to the shoulders, and from the very pointed chin, this may be classed with those of the 'Mixed Oriental' style showing Egyptian influence, which Myres dates,² mainly perhaps on political grounds, between 650 and 550 B.C. The very bulging eyes without lids are, however, exceptional.

The one male head in a pointed cap, No. 46 (Pl. X, 12),³ is probably late sixth century, as it closely resembles No. 121 though missing her elusive charm.

The female head, No. 140 (Pl. XII, 28), who wears her cap on the back of her head, is such slight work and so much damaged, for the whole front of the face is gone, as hardly to suggest a date, unless we get a hint from the remarkable way in which the band of hair between the wreath and forehead is brought up to the centre in a pointed arch, which recalls one *coiffure* of Flavian date. This hair is rendered by fine lines arranged in a herring-bone. A late date may also be given to one of the heads that wear a hood, No. 131 (Pl. XI, 26), a very slight piece of work,

1. Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 129; *Atlas*, I, LXXXII, 539.

2. Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 198. Cf. *Atlas*, I, XLII, 271 and 278.

3. Cf. *Atlas*, I, LI, 299.

but the other two, Nos. 72 and 74 (Pl. XI, 22 and 21), bear the stamp of the classical age and might well be late fifth century. Possibly the same date should be given to No. 65 (Pl. XI, 24), which shares with No. 120 (Pl. X, 14) the unusual feature of having the forehead hair treated in a roll with upward curving grooves. We must, however, put No. 120 to the close of the previous century. The hair of this figure is somewhat long behind and is drawn together, suggesting the beginnings of a queue. On the crown the hair is treated in wide grooves radiating from the back. The eyes are long and flat and so much worn that it is doubtful if they had lids. The ears are very sketchy and unworthy of the face to which the faint smile lends life.

No. 105 (Pl. XII, 29) is an early piece, very badly weathered but remarkable for the peak at the back of the crown and for the treatment of the hair in a set of raised lozenges made by zigzagging the chisel over the surface. The peaked hair and the earring suggest that this rather gaunt head was female. Also of the late sixth century are Nos. 35 and 145 (Pl. X, 17 and 18). No. 145 is remarkable as having almost the only undamaged nose, and the profile of its mouth and chin and the well-defined sixth-century groove between cheeks, mouth, and chin are so exact a parallel to those of No. 35 that it seemed worth while to show the two side by side. The waggish expression of No. 35 is perhaps one of the gifts of chance and time.

Of No. 68 (Pl. XI, 23) there is little to say. All the right side of the face is weathered away, but in the treatment of the hair the head, though on a smaller scale, presents a parallel to No. 32 but without its distinction, and may perhaps be contemporary with it.

No. 136 (Pl. XII, 31) is one of the better of the pieces which are late, as the flat, deep-sunk eyes with broad, flat lids would show (cf. Pl. XIII, 37, 39, and 41).

The remaining heads illustrated (Pl. XI, 20, 25, and 27; Pl. XII, 30; and Pl. XIII) all apparently come from the 'Temple Boy' type of figure. They were on the whole cheap and careless work and several are unnaturally flat, the reason apparently being that many of these figures were not meant to be seen from behind, the back of the figure and the back of the head being allowed to be in the same plane practically unworked. Yet several even of the larger, more careful heads, *e.g.* Nos. 23 and 25, seem to have been carved out of blocks that were too small and are flatter behind than they should naturally be.

These 'Temple Boy' heads may be divided into three broad types, though in certain examples they are seen to melt one into the other.

There are those showing moderately good work and a fairly normal and life-like appearance, *e.g.* No. 75 and No. 122 (Pl. XI, 25 and 27), and No. 39 (Pl. XIII, 41).

No. 75 is apparently not early, but stands out among the later heads as the work of a master. He wears a smile which is by no means archaic, and in fact suggests the Renaissance rather than the classical age. The photograph misses the full effect of this, which is best seen from the front, but the head has been split almost into two halves from back to front.

No. 122, from the grooved treatment of the hair, is probably not later than the fifth century, while No. 39, in its undistinguished facility, is probably of the Greco-Roman period.

The second group may be called the triangular or wedge-shaped, as these heads narrow from a great width across the temples down to a pointed chin. Examples are Nos. 79 and 111 (Pl. XIII, 37 and 38). Many are less grotesque than these, but their abnormal measurements give all of them an air of unreality. All appear to be late and are apparently the cheapest conventional work, though there is an astonishingly vivid expression on No. 79 (Pl. XIII, 37) which the photograph has not quite caught.

The third, foreign, group is illustrated in Pl. XIII, 34 and 36, Nos. 43 and 96. These heads are marked by a low forehead, prominent eyes, and fleshy, bulging cheeks, the heaviness of the lower part of the face contrasting with its skimpiness in the second group. It would perhaps be rash to affirm that these heads actually reproduce a negroid type, but they do suggest an endeavour to copy a set of features differing sharply from the normal, Hellenic, type ordinarily seen in ancient sculpture, and they do recall, in spite of the intervening years—for these heads must be quite late—the Greek vision of the African to be seen on the Herakles and Busiris vase-paintings.¹

Myres² considers most of these 'Temple Boys' of Hellenistic or Greco-Roman date, though one,³ he says, cannot be later than the fifth century

1. Furtwängler u. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, ser. II, Taf. 73. One might refer also to the various examples of the Ethiopian type collected by Miss Beardsley: *The Negro in Greek and Roman Civilization*.

2. Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

3. *Atlas*, I, CXXX, 973.

B.C., and two others¹ may be as early as the fourth century. And this view would in general apply to the Liverpool heads. Yet if we judge by the treatment of the hair we may be disposed to admit a larger proportion of early examples. It would seem improbable from this point of view that the three in the upper row of Pl. XIII, 40, are later than the fifth century, while that in the top right corner, slap-dash as the method is, can hardly be later than 450 B.C.

A similar if not earlier date probably belongs to No. 102 (Pl. XI, 20), in which the careful arrangement of fish-hook curls in rows recalls the beards of Nos. 27, 28, and 29. The flat treatment, though the form of the locks differs, recalls also the hair of the Lapith who is being bitten by the Centaur on the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. But it is by no means certain that this head belongs to a 'Temple Boy.' It is noteworthy as preserving a good deal of red colour on the eyes (a red disc for the iris), lips, and hair. Traces of colour, always red, are visible on a good many, particularly on Nos. 32 and 121, and on the drapery of the torsos. It is clear that colour was only used to enhance details such as hair, lips and eyes, and that the material, poor as it is, was never completely covered with paint. Paint was, however, sometimes given a more ambitious rôle, as in No. 26, where it carried the full burden of showing the beard, otherwise only indicated by slight relief, as on the Olympia Metopes. And No. 49 (Pl. XIII, 35) suggests that the whole eye was painted in. The surface is indeed much worn, but it is barely conceivable that the carving of the eye should have been effaced while the nose is left practically intact.

Most of these heads, except some of the 'Temple Boys,' wear a wreath, or, if not a wreath, a fillet. Among the earlier examples there is considerable variety: vine or ivy leaves in the case of No. 29 (Pl. IX, 6), which gives the head a probably deceptive aspect of Dionysus. No. 23, though he has a similar wreath (Pl. IX, 3), is too youthful considering his date to incur the same suspicion. No. 123 (Pl. X, 10) has a wreath of broad leaves on each side of the stem, while No. 120 (Pl. X, 14) has broad leaves on one side only. No. 35 (Pl. X, 17) has a diadem of rosettes, and No. 30 (Pl. IX, 8) has a broad convex fillet studded with small holes. And there are others. But the most normal type, especially on the rather later heads, is a wreath, presumably of bay leaves, though sometimes they are

1. *Atlas*, I, CXXX, 963 and 977.

small enough to suggest the olive, often with a set of elongated berries between the wreath and the forehead. This is perhaps best seen on Nos. 32 and 24 (Pl. IX, 5 and 9).

The exact provenance of these heads is, of course, unknown. But since they were presented early in 1872, and Cesnola made his great find at Golgoi in 1870, it is not impossible that it is to that site that we owe them. And Cesnola's own account of the circumstances in which that find was made¹ shows that it is far from improbable that a good deal more than he thought escaped his net. It is only to be regretted that no one at that date in Liverpool was interested in the gift.

1. Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pp. 118 ff.



1



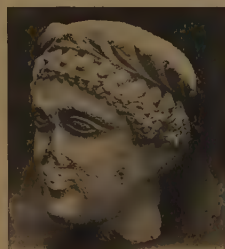
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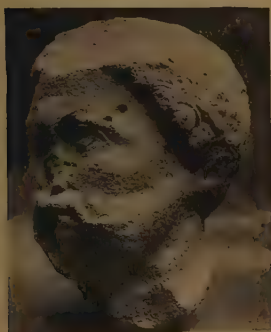
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LIMESTONE HEADS FROM CYPRUS. LIVERPOOL PUBLIC MUSEUMS.

Scale 1:6.



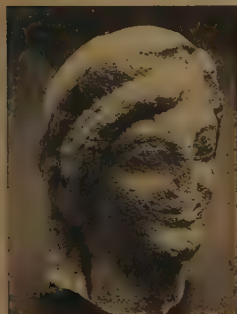
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LIMESTONE HEADS FROM CYPRUS. LIVERPOOL PUBLIC MUSEUMS.

Scale, Nos. 10-18, 1:3; No. 19, 1:4 approx.



20



21



22



20



23



24



25



26



27

LIMESTONE HEADS FROM CYPRUS. LIVERPOOL PUBLIC MUSEUMS.

Scale 1:3.



28



29



29



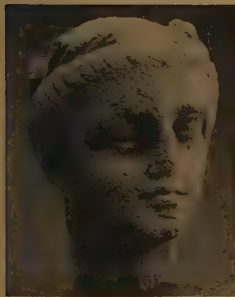
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30



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32



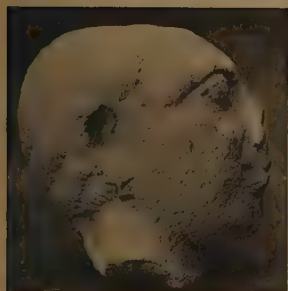
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33

LIMESTONE HEADS FROM CYPRUS. LIVERPOOL PUBLIC MUSEUMS.

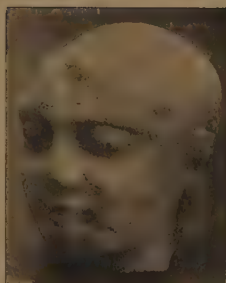
Scale 1:3; No. 33, 1:6.



34



35



36



37



38



39



40



41

LIMESTONE HEADS FROM CYPRUS. LIVERPOOL PUBLIC MUSEUMS.

Scale 1:3; No. 40, 1:8.

SOME REMARKS ON STRING FIGURES

By R. M. DAWKINS

CAT'S CRADLE, as generally understood in this country, is a game played with a loop of string by two persons, much in use among children. It is a simple game with no great possibilities. In the last thirty years, however, it has been discovered that our Cat's Cradle, far from standing alone, is but one of an immense number of amusements with string, practised in the main by peoples of primitive culture. These new string games almost invariably differ from Cat's Cradle proper in being played by one person only, the object being to produce a definite figure with the string; and such constructions are generally now called String Figures. Among them in fact our English Cat's Cradle occupies a definite position as a member of what Haddon¹ has called the 'Asiatic' as opposed to the 'Oceanic' type of figures, with which alone this paper is concerned. The 'Asiatic' type is for two persons, and in this feature resembles some of the figures from the Society Islands. It also gives us a succession of patterns one after the other, and in this is like the so-called 'Progressive Figures' from the same islands. It is therefore very like the progressive figures which are found in the Marquesas Islands, which require two persons to carry them out.² But even from these it differs in that each phase of the figure is held by one person only, and they take the string from one to the other, entering into a kind of competition, to see who can go on the longer. The island figures require four hands to hold each of the successive phases, and the competitive element, which seems to be inherent in the 'Asiatic' type, is therefore entirely absent. It is interesting that the form of string figure common among people of higher culture should stand so very much apart from the 'Oceanic' type, which is the peculiar property of the more primitive people. I have recently been informed by a friend that string figures are common

1. See Haddon's introduction to Jayne's *String Figures*, p. xii.

2. These are to be found in W. C. Handy's *String Figures from the Marquesas and Society Islands* (Bishop Museum Bulletin, 18), Honolulu, 1925.

among the Chinese; it will be very interesting to see in what form they appear among a people at once so civilised and so extremely ingenious. Haddon has already reported that the Chinese game is of the 'Asiatic' type.¹ I now turn to the 'Oceanic' figures, which are now being recorded from all parts of the world outside Europe and Asia, the 'Asiatic' area.

Among the simple peoples of whose string figures we now have these rich collections, they are frequently connected in some way with magical practices, or at least are regarded as having some influence, good or bad, upon the courses of nature. In fact, wherever they are found they are now recognised to be of very considerable anthropological interest. The present writer was recently asked to review a new book on this subject, written by the most learned authority on the art, the daughter of one of the founders of the study. He did so, but the review assumed rather the proportions of an article, and is here presented as such. The book, then, which gave rise to the remarks below is:—

Artists in String: String Figures, their Regional Distribution and Social Significance, by Kathleen Haddon (Mrs. O. H. T. Rishbeth). With a foreword by Professor J. L. Myres, O.B.E., D.Sc., F.B.A. With 82 diagrams. Pp. x+174. Methuen & Co., 1930. Price Six Shillings.

In this book, the scope of which is succinctly but fully described in the title, Mrs. Rishbeth continues the beginning she made in 1912 with her *Cat's Cradles from many Lands*. As it was her father, Dr. Haddon, who, with Dr. Rivers, started the whole study with the figures which in 1898 they brought back from the Torres Straits, no one has a better right than she to carry it this very definite step forward. Her former book was little more than a collection of figures with the necessary diagrams and directions for working. It made an excellent introduction to an amusing pastime, but to the anthropologist hardly went further than to suggest that the study of these figures was of some interest, and that as many as possible ought to be collected before it is too late. Civilisation, Mrs. Rishbeth truly says, kills Cat's Cradles. Now she has not merely presented us with a number of figures which were not in the earlier book, but has gone further, and in a series of chapters has shown the relation between the lives of each people and the string figures with which they amuse themselves, or even use for various social and magical purposes. Though no doubt much remains to

1. See Haddon's introduction to Jayne's *String Figures*, p. xiii.

be harvested, the difficulty felt in 1912 of the insufficiency of the data for working out the anthropological value of these figures has now to a great extent disappeared: it is enough to compare the one-page bibliography of the earlier book with the eleven pages we are now given. For her present account of string figures and their makers, the author has used all this mass of fresh information, and her conclusions have in this way a much wider basis than merely the comparatively small amount of material actually contained in the book. Her method has been to take five groups of people: the Alaskan Eskimo, the Navaho Indians, the Kiwai Papuans, the natives of Cape York Peninsula in Australia and those of the Gold Coast of Africa, and to write for each a short sketch of their manner of life, with especial reference to the objects of which they make representations in string. To each of these essays she has added descriptions of some of their string figures, forty-one in all, with directions by following which the reader can have the satisfaction of making the figures for himself, and in each case a drawing of the completed figure. For the drawings, it would have been an advantage to show the hands as Rouse Ball and Griffith do, or even indicate the position of the digits by numbers as Hornell does.¹

Now, to write such descriptions is admittedly a very difficult task, and the present writer—certainly very much less skilful than the author, who is perhaps the most distinguished exponent of the art—cannot but lay himself open to the charge of incompetence, if he makes any criticism of these directions. But he must take his courage in his hands in this matter. He did not approach the present book quite as a novice, having succeeded in working all the figures in Rouse Ball's *String Figures*, almost all those in Mrs. Rishbeth's earlier book, including even the extremely complicated *Fox and Whale*, and the majority of those described in the various papers on the subject that have appeared in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society*. With this training he took up the present book. Of the forty-one figures he worked with no hitch or difficulty at all twenty-six. Three entirely baffled him: these were No. 1, the *Kayaker and the Mountain*; No. 30, the *Waterspout*; and No. 40, the *Pan for weighing Gold*. Then he failed at six more figures, Nos. 19, 20, 21, 25, 27, and 34, involving the movement called *pindikiki*. This movement is described on p. 156, but not in such a way that he could apply it to the actual making of figures. In

1. We refer to W. W. Rouse Ball, *String Figures*, Cambridge, 1928; to C. L. T. Griffith, *Gold Coast String Games*, *Journal of the R. Anthropological Society*, LV (1925), p. 271; James Hornell, *String Figures from Sierra Leone, Liberia and Zanzibar*, *ibid.*, LX (1930), p. 81.

one figure, however, he was able to work the *pindiki* movement. This was No. 28, the beautiful Papuan figure of the *Moon and his Two Wives*. But even here he found it at first easier to devise an alternative method, which dodges *pindiki* and produces the same result, but in a different way. In No. 4, the *Fish-net Torn by Bears*, the author's directions enabled him to make the net without any difficulty, but when he went on to work the torn net and the two bears running away, he found that the directions did produce two creatures running away, but they were not the finely formed bears of the picture. These he did at last succeed in making, but by a method which again he had to devise afresh for himself. Four figures are left. These he was able to make, but in each he would suggest some modification of the directions: either additions for the sake of greater clearness or, what he is presumptuous enough to suggest, corrections to the text. In No. 3, *The Caribou in the Willows*, on p. 29, line 18, read *loops*, instead of *loop*, and in line 21 read *loops* and *these*, instead of *loop* and *this*. Also to line 24 on the same page after *right thumb and index* add the words *entering it from the proximal side*. If this is not done the Caribou's neck comes out twisted. In No. 5, the *Rack or Platform*, on p. 32, bottom line, after *towards you* add *passing them distal to the distal thumb loop*. In No. 9, the *Pleiades*, on p. 52, in the sixth line from the bottom of the page, after *pass the middle fingers* add *proximal to both index loops and*. In No. 16, a *Tipi*, on p. 61, the third paragraph he finds to be a better guide if it reads, *Pass the right index finger distal to the palmar string and draw the pendant loop up behind the palmar string, so that the palmar string lies below the loop*.

That in a collection of forty-one figures a comparative beginner has had to register only three failures, apart from the breakdown due to his failure to master the *pindiki* movement, shows that the author has achieved a very considerable success in this difficult matter of describing the movements of ten digits, to say nothing of the occasional intervention of the big toe and the mouth. Indeed, without the ingenious system of terminology invented by Dr. Rivers and the author's father, Dr. Haddon, it would have been impossible even to attempt such directions.

In a concluding chapter the author sums up all too briefly her general ideas on these figures. On one most interesting point her conclusion seems to be that, while most of the figures now being found are what at first they all were—that is, constructions arrived at more or less by chance and then given names from their fancied resemblance to some familiar object—there are others in which the maker has consciously created string

images of familiar objects. This goes deep into a very difficult question. The present writer has already admitted to not being quite a novice. He began in fact to play with string figures some two years ago, and has since then worked from various books some sixty or seventy figures, if not more. In the course of this initiation he has gradually come round to the belief that there is a good deal in Mrs. Rishbeth's idea of the conscious artist in string. He had at first the feeling that the steps in the working bore no relation which any one could divine to the finished result ; he inclined, that is, to look upon the figures as nothing more than fancifully-named results of a systematic sort of fiddling with a loop of string. But the more figures one works and the more familiarity one gets with the common movements, the more likely it seems that it would be possible to gain such a feeling for the use of string, such an intimate knowledge of the results of each series of movements, as to be able to envisage a more or less definite aim, and to work towards its realisation. And once this step has been taken, there is no limit to the possibilities of purposeful manipulation. For the figures which end in a static design it is hard to feel very sure, but conscious intention can hardly be absent from the figures which change from one design to another, each phase of the figure representing an incident in a story. Such, for example, is the Thlinkit Indian figure of the *Salmon River* on p. 26. This shows us first the river flowing between two mountains ; then the river reaches the plains, and we see it flowing at the foot of a single range of mountains ; then we get a glance of a mosquito over the river ; then the river is seen with only a single mountain in the distance ; then we see a man standing up in a boat and in the water a salmon ; by the last movement the man throws out his line and catches the salmon. The evidence of conscious intention in such a series of figures is, to the present writer, the fact that the successive phases tell a story. He finds, for instance, no such evidence in our English Cat's Cradle, nor in Handy's 'progressive figures' from the Marquesas and Society Islands : in these cases each successive phase of the series has a name quite unconnected with the names of the other phases.¹ The developing of a series of patterns in this way one out of another indicates nothing more than successful but unmotivated manipulation. Further, there is another point : that the present writer was able, as he has said above, to invent in two cases his own way of finishing a figure, when he had

1. Handy's paper is quoted above. Such figures are on pp. 33 and 67 *sqq.*

failed to understand the directions, also inclines him towards a belief in the conscious element. In her former book, *Cat's Cradles from many Lands*, p. 43, the author gives us a figure from Portuguese East Africa called *Ambra*. In this case again he was forced to invent for himself the final movements. Later, he found the same figure described under the name of *Buffalo Skin pegged out*, in Griffith's paper on *Gold Coast 'String Games'*, with directions which are exactly those which he had worked out for himself, following unconsciously in the very track of the black man's mind.¹ One thing is quite clear to the present writer : no one is competent to express any definite opinion on this very difficult point who has not for himself worked out a very considerable number of figures and experimented towards making fresh figures, and has so, to some extent at least, got himself into the frame of mind of the genuine makers.

In an appendix the author gives us in tabular form an analysis of 1605 string figures. The figures are collected from nine areas and classified according to the objects represented. The headings are : Celestial ; Physical Geography ; Plants ; Animals ; Human ; Anatomy ; Objects ; Social ; Folk, Magic ; Rest. The table gives the absolute numbers, and as the total number of figures collected varies greatly for the different areas, the full significance of the table can only be grasped if the numbers are converted into percentages of the total number of figures from each several area. That there are, for instance, from North America twenty-six figures representing 'objects' and fifty-eight such figures from Papua, does not impose the conclusion that the Papuans have more inclination towards such figures than the Americans, though the absolute number is more than twice as great. From North America we have only seventy-seven figures in all, and from Papua 289 ; reducing the numbers to percentages, we find that of all their figures 34 per cent. of the American and only 20 per cent. of the Papuan fall into this class. It is in fact the North American and not the Papuan who has the very strong inclination towards this sort of figure. If we go on to convert all the author's absolute figures into this more instructive form, we get several interesting results. Our author has on p. 5 noticed a few ; some more may be added. In the Arctic, plant figures naturally hardly exist : they are only .3 per cent. of the whole ; animal figures on the other hand reach a higher figure, 44.5 per cent., than anywhere else. The Polynesian, with his abundant

1. C. L. T. Griffith, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

plant life, devotes 7 per cent. of his figures to plants, and to animals only 19.5 per cent. It is striking, too, that while figures representing celestial bodies range from 5 per cent. of the whole in Polynesia and Papua up to 20 per cent. in non-Arctic North America, in the Arctic region itself they sink to .6 per cent. Can it be that the Arctic night is spent in keeping warm rather than in star-gazing, and that the six-months day and night have both of them a monotony which deprives them of interest? It is to travellers, too, that the stars are most interesting, and the Arctic is not a place for wide travel. The figures listed under the heading 'Folk, Magic' are nowhere more than 2.5 per cent. until we get to the Pacific; here we have 4 per cent. in Melanesia, 8 in Micronesia, 10 in Polynesia, and in Papua 17 per cent. The validity of all these remarks depends, as the author properly points out, on the numbers being great enough to provide a satisfactory basis; in particular they must represent every class of figure in use in something like its due proportion to the whole. Nor are deductions as to North America, from which we have only seventy-seven figures, likely to be so sound as those from Papua, where we have 289; unless, indeed, the seventy-seven is anywhere in the neighbourhood of the actual total number of figures in use.

At the foot of this table we are given the number of string tricks from each area. Here the highest figures belong to the cheerful Polynesian with twenty and to the Papuan with twenty-two. The Australian, whose life is perhaps harder than that of any of the others, illustrates the dictum of the Scotch philosopher Mr. MacQuedy in *Crotchet Castle* that the savage never laughs, for he has none at all. The pursuit of food is too arduous for him to have any time for such frivolities.

But this classification by subject is only one of several possible. To the mind of the present writer the method adopted by Rouse Ball in his *String Figures* offers great possibilities. He arranged the figures into three classes. In Class A the object is the production of an attractive design, in Class B the illustration of some action or story, and in Class C the production of some surprise effect. But as the designs of Class A are as a rule not in any way evident until the making has reached its very last stage, there is always an element of surprise in Class A, just as there is of a pattern in Class C. The real antithesis seems to be between Classes A and C on one side and Class B on the other. Here we see a real difference of psychological attitude. The figures of Class A and C, the pure designs, appeal to an aesthetic faculty which takes pleasure in a pretty and

symmetrical pattern. To these patterns a name is given, because of the fancied resemblance to some common and familiar object. And that the names are no more than intelligent afterthoughts appears from two facts: the first is that some of these figures seem to have no name at all, but to exist in and by themselves like a modern 'purely abstract' picture¹; and the second is that to many of these figures different names are given in different places.²

The Class B figures are radically different from these. They are not static designs, made simply to be looked at and admired as such. The figure owes its attraction to its power of movement. Either we have a figure some of the parts of which move in a simple way, like the Navaho Indian *Butterfly* (p. 57), which flaps its wings; or a figure destroying itself by its own movement, like the Cape York *Lizard* (p. 109), which runs up a tree; or else the process goes further and a story is illustrated, and as the story goes on, the figure changes to depict its successive incidents. Examples are *The Salmon River* mentioned above, or the Chukchee figure of *The Siberian House*. Here we start with a three-storeyed house; then the gable breaks down and the roof comes off; then the house is reconstructed, but with only a ground floor; then it falls down again, but this time the ruin is irretrievable, and the two men who lived in it escape in two different directions.³ The appeal of these figures is to the imagination, which can see the resemblance to actual objects: they may be called the 'representational pictures' of the string-figure world. What would the makers of the static, Class A and C, figures, with their 'abstract' aesthetic appeal, think of these 'representational' figures? They might fail to understand them altogether. They might admire them intensely. Or again they might, but I do not think they would, follow certain modern

1. An example of this is the figure on p. 131, which Mrs. Rishbeth calls *The Wave*. But this she should not have done without some explanation. The figure she takes from Griffith's collection from the Gold Coast cited above (p. 281), and he precisely says: 'No native name known, but my name for it was considered quite appropriate.' It is really a nameless figure. So, too, R. H. Compton in his *String Figures from New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands* (J.R.A.S., XLIX (1919), p. 204) suggests that some of his figures have no names, although in some cases it was simply that he failed to get at the name. He says (p. 205): 'it was often difficult or impossible to ascertain titles, even where existent.'

2. Of this there are several examples in Rouse Ball's book. On p. 35, I note that what is in Queensland called *The Veiled Sun* is in the Torres Straits called *The Mouth*. Again, Mrs. Rishbeth's figure on p. 85, called *The Fly-River Turtle*, is almost identical with a West African figure called *Young Girl*; for which see a diagram published by E. Dayrell in *Man*, 1912, No. 87.

3. Mrs. Rishbeth's version of the *Siberian House* is an elaborated version of the same figure given by Rouse Ball (p. 46): his simpler house is ruined once for all and not repaired.

art critics, and treat them with complete scorn, as the work of unfortunates who have entirely misunderstood the true ends of art.

In what proportion do these two classes appear in different regions ? In this book I note that of the ten Navaho Indian figures, only one, the *Two Coyotes*, and that in the simplest way, has any kinetic quality ; the rest are simply pretty patterns with fanciful names, to be contemplated in themselves. The Eskimo, on the other hand, seem to delight in the possibly conscious, kinetic figures. Another indication that it is among the makers of kinetic figures that we are to seek, if anywhere, for the conscious string-artist, is that the Eskimo make—and these are certainly rare elsewhere—asymmetrical figures : figures, that is, in which each hand has its own separate movements, and the figure is therefore like a picture with the right-hand side differing from the left. Of these Mrs. Rishbeth's earlier book has some good examples : the *Dog on a Leash*, the *Two Ptarmigan*, and, the climax of the art, the *Fox and Whale*.

This classification by the psychological faculty appealed to agrees perfectly with Mrs. Rishbeth's view of the origin of all string figures, a view from which I imagine few people would dissent. All string figures, it is held, originated in simple playing and fiddling with string, just as the Brahmans of the present day are reported to be acquiring a set of figures merely by mechanically playing with their sacred cords.¹ This 'fiddling' theory would regard the static figures of Class A as earlier in type than all the others, and among these the most primitive type is preserved in those figures which have no name ; if, indeed, these nameless figures are not merely figures for which no name has been gathered by the white man. Here the appeal is solely to a quite simple aesthetic feeling. Then imagination got to work, and the figures received names from their fancied resemblance to familiar objects, names which naturally vary from place to place according to the environment. Then come the moving figures, and the primitive aesthetic feeling of pleasure at the sight of a pretty pattern, rather like the reaction of a baby to a brightly coloured object or of a child to a gaudy picture, is reinforced by still more of that imaginative power to which the names even of the static figures were due. This imaginative power, allied with an ever greater manipulative skill, which brought with it an increasing consciousness of a power of control over results, produced the figures which illustrate a story, and with them

1. We refer to C. L. T. Griffith and Kathleen Haddon's article, *Some Brahmanic String Figures*, in *Man*, Vol. XIV (1914), No. 45.

imagination came fully into its own. The earlier charm of pattern is by now much in the background: none of these figures is as pretty as the static designs of Class A. But with these story-figures we may say that the first cinema came into existence; and if the working of the figure was accompanied, as it not seldom is, by an appropriate song, then the silent film had already given way to the more advanced 'talkie.' Lastly, the asymmetrical figure comes late in the series, because its appeal is very much more to the imagination than to any aesthetic sense, and because, quite as much as in the story-figures, it is here that conscious design most shows itself. It is significant that the Eskimo, masters of asymmetrical figure working, also have figures illustrating stories. In static figures, on the other hand, they are not strong.

Thus the classification which the whole idea of this book demands is one that connects the figures with the ways of life of the people. Rouse Ball's draws our attention towards their psychology; and it is upon this that I have thought it worth while to dwell at some length. A third method of approach would be to class the figures by their manner of working, and if we wish to get light on the problems of the migration of figures and contacts of culture, this is perhaps the most promising line of research. Some movements are, of course, too universal to be of much use: 'Position I' and 'Opening A' are to be found, it seems, everywhere. I would prefer to stress definite series of movements, just as in tracing the origin and history of folk-tales sequences of incidents—in other words plots or pieces of plots—are of much greater significance than isolated incidents. Thus Handy remarks on the identity of typical moves in both the Society Islands and the Marquesas, and on the cultural significance of these 'familiar sequences' of moves.¹ Griffith's figures from the Gold Coast have some very marked and recurring sets of movements, such as the 'Twi extension' and the 'Akim-twist opening.'² The peculiar movements by which there are three loops all on one digit, which is the essential part of making the *Whale* in the Eskimo *Fox and Whale*, occurs also in another Eskimo figure, the *Kayak*.³ And more examples might without difficulty be found.

In short, the method used by Mrs. Rishbeth in this book aims at telling us about the figures as they are actually practised; Rouse Ball's method

1. W. C. Handy, *String Figures from the Marquesas and Society Islands*, quoted above, p. 5.

2. C. L. T. Griffith, *Gold Coast 'String Games'*, quoted above.

3. Haddon, *Cat's Cradles from many Lands*, pp. 60 and 64.

is directed to the general history of the art ; the classification by technique works rather towards the history of individual figures and their possible migrations. The study of technique has led me at present to the impression that any such series of movements are very local, and that therefore, if this method of research be admitted as valid, its result will rather tend towards the conclusion that most of the several regions have worked out their own repertory of string figures for themselves. Also, any probability, based on such a theoretical ground as this, of the migration or descent of any figure or group of figures, is of course of a degree of certainty far less than may be obtained from definite external evidence of migration or borrowing.

But, after all, string figures are not merely material for the anthropologist. They amuse the primitives who make them, and experience shows that they can amuse many of us as well. Their attractiveness has been so well put by Professor Myres in the Foreword to the book, that nothing more need be said on the point. Every one will, of course, have his favourites. To the present writer none are so delightful as the figures which combine the characters of Rouse Ball's A and C classes, the static figures which form a design flashing out suddenly at the end with a charming effect of surprise. The principal difficulty in working these figures is the final 'dishing up,' by which the result is displayed to proper advantage. The thrill comes when the crushed-up strings rolled between the palms draw out into the *Apache Tent-door* with its odd pattern, or when from a seeming tangle of string the diamond-shaped moon disengages, and gradually works himself free from the clinging of his two starlike wives, who are forced to retreat to either side of the figure. And there are many more such. Other people will be more pleased by the coyotes who run away, by the sun which can be made to set, by the water-snake who swims across from one hand to the other, and in general by the moving figures. The Eskimo figure in which a tangle of string suddenly and surprisingly turns into a quite symmetrical fishing net, which is then torn to pieces by two bears, shown in the last phase of the figure running away to the right and left like the coyotes, is an example which will please all parties. Mrs. Rishbeth, in short, is to be thanked for a delightful book. To the players of a fascinating game it brings, or at least makes accessible, a store of new material ; to the anthropologist it will suggest fresh and profitable lines of thought.

HITTITE AND ÆGEAN MATERIAL IN THE LIVERPOOL PUBLIC MUSEUMS

By D. A. ALLAN, PH.D., D.Sc.

THOSE who are following the progress of Hittite studies may be interested to know that the important Garstang Collection of Hittite material, lent to the Liverpool Free Public Museums, but withdrawn for a long time from exhibition, is again on view. It includes full-size casts of the great rock-sculptures at Iasily Kaia and Kara-Bel and selected carvings from Marash, Sinjerli, and Sakje-Geuzi, and of the palace portico unearthed by Professor Garstang on the latter site. The most interesting of the smaller objects are perhaps the restored vases from the mound of Jobba Eyuk at Sakje-Geuzi—one of the very few groups of Hittite pottery in the British Isles, interest of which is enhanced since M. de Genouillac's publication of the Louvre and Musée Guimet collections in his *Céramique Cappadocienne*. The important collection of sherds from Sakje-Geuzi, cited in Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery*, II, p. 154, n. 2, remains at the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, 11 Abercromby Square.

The same gallery contains Professor Bosanquet's collection of Ægean material, comprising both original objects excavated or acquired by himself and reproductions (by Gilliéron) of paintings and celebrated pieces from Knossos and Mycenae. Other cases contain objects from Professor Garstang's excavations at Meröe, and selected Cypriote material, the property of the Museum—a type-series of Bronze and Early Iron Age pottery, and examples from the important collection of sculptures discussed by Professor Droop on pages 29 ff. of this number. Both the loan collections have been catalogued and arranged by Miss D. M. Vaughan, and in addition to a popular handbook to the gallery, a full card-index is available for the use of students.

REVIEWS

Who were the Greeks? By J. L. MYRES, Sather Classical Lecturer.
Vol. VI. University of California Press, 1930.

The new book by Professor Myres contains a magnificent synthesis of the various evidences for the origin of the Greeks, and it is doubtful if any other living scholar could have written it. The book bristles with brilliant theories on the most diverse and most controversial questions. Particularly suggestive is the reconstruction from Greek tradition of three great political crises: (a) in 1400, associated with the 'great killing' and the coming of the Ionians to Attica; (b) in 1260, connected with the establishment of the divine-born dynasties in Greece and in the Troad; and (c) in 1100 B.C., associated with the Dorian invasion.

I have noted down the following criticisms or comments on individual passages:—

- p. 51: the invasion postulated may well have occurred, but the three skulls from the 'third city' (Schliemann's 'fourth city') seem rather slender evidence for it.
- p. 100: 'Babylonian merchants' may be correct, but the general effect of the personal names is rather cosmopolitan and the dialect appears to resemble early Assyrian rather than classical Akkadian.¹
- p. 117: the absence of 'r' in Alaksandu is said to be a difficulty.
- p. 126: 'gigantic chiefs'; Goliath was certainly very tall, but he was a 'son of Anak' and not necessarily a Philistine.
- p. 128: 'the Minoan colonization of Cyprus began about 1500 B.C.'; one MM II sherd was found in Tomb 101 at Episkopi, but the vases of Aegean type dating between 1500 and 1400 B.C. seem to have been more often of mainland than of Cretan fabric, and one Late Cycladic sherd was found.²
- p. 143: I do not much like the philological equation Pelasgus=Pelops=Pulisata.
- p. 215: to the neolithic sites here mentioned may be added a number of reported but unpublished sites in the Corinthia, in the Argolis and in Arkadia, and Professor Franchet's 'microlithic' site in Crete.

1. Cf. Sidney Smith, *Early History of Assyria*, pp. 146-163.

2. Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, p. 212; his usually accurate text contains one or two curious *lapses calami* on page 210.

- p. 223 : the 'chisel-headed arrow' is not specifically Egyptian; in Northern Europe it is familiar as a mesolithic or early neolithic type, and at Ur it was found in the grave of Meskalam-dug.
- p. 225 : to the figurines quoted might be added the interesting examples in incised bone from the chalcolithic sites of Bulgaria.
- pp. 229, 230 : the stylistic differences between Troy I and II are rather misleading, as will be shown by the forthcoming publication of the pottery from Thermi in Lesbos.
- p. 235 : the lyre on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus is not the *τρίγωνον*.
- p. 241 : the description of the 'painted pottery cultures' is misleading on two important points, when it suggests (a) that the spiral was introduced into a rectilinear painted design, and (b) that the foundation of the Dhimini style in Greece was subsequent to the abandonment of the 'painted pottery' sites in the Ukraine and Transylvania: (a) is true of Thessaly but most untrue of Serbia, Transylvania, Poland, and the Ukraine; (b) is certainly false, since all the chronological schemes advanced by the specialists agree in dating Dhimini and the Moravian crusted wares before the beginning of Cucuteni B and the analogous sites in Poland and the Ukraine.
- p. 284 : on the vexed question of the date of the Mycenaean tholoi Professor Myres follows Sir Arthur Evans: for further arguments in favour of a later date, compare Wace, *J.H.S.*, XLVI, Part I.
- p. 286 : the derivation of Thessalian I wares from the Danube and Dnieper groups is very doubtful, and it is not impossible that the Thessalian technique of painting was the father rather than the child.
- p. 379 : the suggestion that the *megaron* had a clerestory is fascinating but appears to lack proof.
- p. 381 : the description here given of the burial customs tends to conceal from the non-specialist the extreme paucity of our information on this subject for the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages.
- p. 449 : in Cyprus concentric circles appear long before the Iron Age on a White-painted I vase.¹
- p. 460 : the Lianokladhi and Boubousti (not Boubousta) matt wares were probably produced by a fusion of the Macedonian 'Second Incised' and the northern variety of Matt-malerei, and, if so, inherit no more of the neolithic tradition than do the other matt-painted fabrics of Central Greece.

In conclusion, I may say that *Who were the Greeks?* should certainly be bought by all libraries and by most individual students. It has been

1. Gjerstad, *l.c.*, p. 149.

stated of the 'Englishman' that 'he abandons vital matters to be tickled with a straw,' and Professor Myres will therefore, I hope, forgive me if I confess that amongst the things which gave me most pleasure in his book were certain graceful phrases, such as the description of the Gournia vase whereof 'the painted surface is regarded as crystal clear, and the vase is just full of octopus,' or the still more delightful account of the Armenian man 'who blushes unseen, if at all.'

R. W. HUTCHINSON.

New Aspects of the Menon Painter. By H. R. W. SMITH. University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology. Vol. I, No. 1. Pp. 1-64, Plates 1-6, 9 figures in text.

This clearly reasoned essay contains arguments for the attribution to the hand of the Menon Painter, one of the artists who introduced the red-figured technique in the art of vase-painting in Athens, of seven vases, three in the red-figured, four in the black-figured, technique.

The days are past when an opinion on an Attic vase-painter could be lightly offered by any general student of antiquity. Nowadays, particularly since the great advances made by Professor Beazley, the study of this form of art is matter for the connoisseur—for the specialist who must bring to his study, of necessity growing wider and more intensive every day, a power of minute observation and a gift of visual memory, which, though they may be improved by practice, to reach their highest development must be largely inborn.

It is clear that Mr. Smith possesses these gifts in a high degree, and should prove a worthy pupil of Professor Beazley, to whose teaching he bears grateful witness in his preface.

Refreshingly new is Mr. Smith's 'method of foils,' using the principle 'that significant resemblances are only established by significant differences. . . . If the investigator is constantly looking away from the vases of his tentative grouping to other vases clearly related to that group but as clearly distinct, he is less likely to be deceived by conventions, it is probable that his eye for characteristics will be sharpened and enabled to penetrate superficial variations, and altogether his apprehension of style should be surer, deeper, and more organic.'

A good example is on p. 44, where the head of Apollo on the 'Alkyoneus' cup of Phintias, an allied painter, is used as a foil to show up the resemblances one to another of three heads which the author would assign to one and the same hand, that of the Menon Painter.

As far as a layman may presume to judge, Mr. Smith would seem to have made out his case, but this would be plainer if he had managed to include among his pictures some details on a larger scale, for the minute details of drawing which form the basis of his arguments can hardly be appreciated from the small-scale illustrations given.

J. P. DROOP.

The 'Armed Aphrodite' on Acrocorinth and the Aphrodite of Capua. By OSCAR BRONEER. University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology. Vol. I, No. 2.

An attack on the generally accepted view of Furtwängler that these two statues were both derived from a common original. The author's view is that the two statues were strikingly dissimilar, and that, while we have no knowledge of any prototype of the Corinthian statue before Roman days, the Capua type is ultimately derived from a Nike type, of which a closer copy is the Nike of Brescia, going back to the fourth or fifth century B.C. The brochure shows wide knowledge of the available material and close reasoning, which might be convincing if one could believe that miniature reproductions on lamps, coins, and gems ever give more than a general idea of a full-sized statue. Both the types raise the more interesting question as to when the Armed Aphrodite turned her equipment from its original purpose to more feminine purposes, for we cannot imagine the severe goddess on the early coins of Corinth, whether Athena or Aphrodite, using her shield as a mirror. Unfortunately, data for answering the question seem to be lacking, though on general grounds we may think it a Hellenistic development.

J. P. DROOP.

The Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm: No. 1. Stockholm: A. B. Hasse, W. Tallberga Byktryckeri, 1929.

We welcome the first number of the Bulletin of the *Ostasiatiska Samlingarna*, which was organised in 1925 to facilitate the archaeological research that had arisen out of the activities of another body, the China Research Committee, chiefly through the well-known archaeological leanings of its chairman, H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden. That body had itself been constituted in 1919 principally with the object of making collections of fossils from China. Thus this archaeological enterprise owes its existence to the science of geology, its chief begetter being the distinguished geologist Professor J. G. Andersson, who at the invitation of the Chinese Government went to China to investigate the mineral resources of the country in 1914 and remained there ten years.

This first number of the *Bulletin*, which is intended to be an Annual, contains an account by Professor Andersson of the origins and aims of the Museum, and articles in English, French, and German by various Chinese, French, and Swedish scholars on Pottery of the Chou Dynasty, on the History of Peking, on the Language of the Chuang in N. Kuangsi, on Symbolism in Prehistoric Painted Ceramics of China, on Symbolism in Mortuary Ceramics, on the Road across the Steppes, and a Bibliography of publications based on the collections of the China Research Committee.

While most of these, as is natural, will be of interest mainly to students of things Chinese, the papers on symbolism in ceramic decoration and on

the road across the steppes will be of general interest to archaeologists and geographers.

The publication is well printed and excellently illustrated.

J. P. DROOP.

Italia Antica sul Mare. By L. A. STELLA. Pp. xvii+308, with 87 Plates and 24 figures in the text. Hoepli. Milan.

This pleasant book traces with a light and popular touch the relations of Italy with the sea that surrounds her, from the days when Mousterian man living in the caves of Balzi Rossi first varied his diet with fish. The reader is told what is guessed as to the earliest Neolithic or bronze age seamen who sailed the Italian sea, and is given an account of the planting of the cities of Magna Graecia and of the Etruscan sea-power which checked further Greek expansion to the west. A description follows of the naval power of Syracuse in the fourth century B.C. under Dionysius and its struggles with Carthage, and of the final rise of Rome, whose naval strength eventually dominated the whole Mediterranean.

The numerous excellent illustrations alternate between coastal views, which, though interesting, naturally fail to convey the charm of the Italian littoral, and views of ships as depicted on the monuments of all ages from Early Cycladic downwards.

Perhaps the chief interest in these to the general reader is the difference urged between the heavy, strongly-built Etruscan ship and the light, speedy 'long ship' of the Greeks, though the distinction depends perhaps too much on the acceptance of the South Italian origin of the vase of Aristonothos, which allows an interpretation of the naval duel as one of those by which the Etruscan checked Greek expansion, for which there are no grounds if the vase is from Argos, as is more generally believed.

J. P. DROOP.

The Archaeology of Roman Britain. By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A. Pp. x+293, with 8 Plates and 68 illustrations in the text. Methuen, 1930.

All students of the Roman occupation of Britain owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Collingwood for this very useful book. Those whose duty it may be to introduce others to the study should be doubly grateful, for here their work is largely done for them. From this point of view, the chapters dealing with the types of forts, of town and country houses, and of coarse pottery and brooches are particularly valuable, since they summarise the latest evidence and bring together in a clear arrangement material that otherwise could only be gathered by much digging into scattered publications. It was indeed the inaccessibility to the beginner of much of the knowledge acquired by recent work in this field that stirred Mr. Collingwood to his task, but his achievement in writing in less

than three hundred pages a masterly summary of the confusing mass of detailed evidence that is available to those who can lay their hands on it is deserving of warm congratulation. To criticise the book in detail would be a task demanding a knowledge equal to Mr. Collingwood's own, but the present writer will permit himself one serious suggestion and one piece of captious criticism. As one with some experience of excavation he feels that the very interesting section on 'coins as archaeological evidence' ought to contain a word of warning as to the mobility of coins, their propensity due to their solidity and small size for worming their way down to a stratum to which they do not belong. The presence of a coin tells us indeed that the site was occupied at some period after the striking of the coin and, generally, while it was still in circulation, but as a rule cannot be taken to date the stratum in which it was found. Obviously that stratum may be later than the date of the coin, but owing to the propensity referred to it may also be earlier. The writer feels that this is a point of some importance; a claim that he cannot make for the objection that he feels to the use of the expression 'a field of fire' (p. 46) in dealing with warfare in Roman Britain.

The text illustrations from Mr. Collingwood's own pen are admirable, and the plates of coins giving Imperial portraits from Augustus to Honorius should be found extremely useful for ready reference in the field.

J. P. DROOP.

Excavations at Olynthus. Part II. Architecture and Sculpture: Houses and Other Buildings. By DAVID M. ROBINSON, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 9.

This, the second volume to be published of the account of the American excavations at Olynthus,¹ contains as its chief item of interest the ground-plans of several houses of the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. The excavators rightly claim these as of first-rate importance, since for this period the plans of reasonably good houses were not previously known. The most important are a set of eight built contiguously on a straight street in the latest residential quarter on the north hill. In plan they are roughly square, with square or oblong rooms, six or more built as a rule round two sides of a large square court, the two other sides of which are flanked by long narrow chambers or corridors. The main room has as a regular feature a central mosaic floor sunk a little below the level of a broad border. There was evidence in more than one case of an upper storey.

Interesting, too, is the discovery of a pebble mosaic with figures, since this is thus proved to be a development of the classical age, as the city was wiped out in 348 B.C., a date which is also important in connection with the series of lamps collected in the last chapter. The surface

1. For Part I, see review, Vol. XVII, p. 31.

had been too much denuded to present any proper stratification, but the whole series of lamps must date before the destruction of the city, and it includes some of a type hitherto considered Hellenistic.

The book is illustrated with a large number of photographs, some of which have been badly focussed, and all are poorly reproduced, so that it is hardly possible to form a considered judgment of the few important pieces of sculpture and the architectural fragments shown. The plans are good, but would be improved by letters to which reference could be made in the descriptive text. The large plan or 'Survey' of the site would be better loose in a pocket. Attached as it is, it is impossible to consult.

J. P. DROOP.

Prehistoric Malta : The Tarxien Temples. By Sir THEMISTOCLES ZAMMIT. Oxford University Press, 1930.

Though three reports of the excavation of Hal Tarxien have appeared in *Archaeologia*, this book forms the first co-ordinated account of the whole work. It contains an admirably clear and well-illustrated description of the site and of what was found there. The author rightly spends little time in speculation concerning the interpretation of his finds; he wisely leaves that to time, knowing that the evidence is yet far too scanty to allow general conclusions of any value to be drawn from it.

Sir Themistocles has now had many years' experience of excavation on Maltese soil, and the skill he has acquired enabled him to establish at Hal Tarxien the existence, in a certain area, of a metal-age stratum containing remains of cremation burials in urns. This stratum, the pottery of which is totally distinct from that of the neolithic stratum which lies below it and is separated from it by a thick layer of wind-blown sand, is in the book referred to as the Bronze Age layer, though in reality the metal implements which it contains are all of copper (p. 46), and are, moreover, of those simple forms which distinguish the earliest stages of the metal age in Europe (Pl. XVII). The author points out that the decorations of the pottery found in the metal stratum 'often differ completely from those of other Bronze Age stations in Malta, such as Bahria, Borg In-Nadur and Mgar,' and he justly comments on the curious fact that such wide variation should exist in an island so small in extent. But is it really necessary to suppose that this metal-age ware from Hal Tarxien is contemporary with Bahria ware? The author might perhaps have been a little more explicit on this point. He might have told us whether in its texture and forms the new pottery is distinguishable from Bahria ware as it is from neolithic ware, and in his summing up he might have told us in what chronological order he would place Hal Tarxien and the three other 'Bronze Age sites' he mentions. Do these three also, like Hal Tarxien, really belong to the Copper and not the Bronze Age?

The copper used in Malta was imported, as was the flint of the neolithic period. This being the case, it is astonishing that not a single object has

even now been found on the island which points to the direction from which these imports came. Sir Arthur Evans would attribute the Maltese spirals to Cretan influence; yet it is odd that neither Halsafieni nor Hal Tarxien has yielded a single fragment of Cretan or Aegæan pottery. The possibility that Sir Arthur is wrong and that Malta remained completely isolated from the neighbouring civilisations during the prehistoric periods now seems to be ruled out by the finding of copper weapons, and we must await with the same patience as the author the more recognisable proofs of connection which are almost certain to come to light sooner or later.

The illustrations are excellent, and the book has that finish which one expects in a product of the Oxford University Press.

T. ERIC PEET.

Menschen der Vorzeit. Ein Überblick über die altsteinzeitlichen Menschenreste. By Dr. HANS WEINERT. Stuttgart, 1930.

This is, for the general reader, by far the best book we have yet seen on the subject of palaeolithic and pre-palaeolithic man, and that for two reasons. First, because it is written by one who has no axe to grind, and secondly, because, although it deals, as it must do, with technicalities both of geology and of anatomy, it does so in a way which is perfectly intelligible to the non-scientist.

The question of the various ice ages, that forbidding ground which frightens off many a would-be inquirer into the problem of early man, is here treated so clearly as to be deprived of most of its terrors.

Under the heading of Tertiary Man four sets of remains are considered—the Taungs Man, Piltdown Man, *Pithecanthropus erectus* and the newly found *Sinanthropus pekinensis*, of which last, however, full details are not yet available. Then follow the Lower Palaeolithic types, Heidelberg Man and Neanderthal Man, characterised as the ‘last human creature, in point of time, who was not *Homo sapiens*.’ The Upper Palaeolithic types, *Homo sapiens*, are more numerous and more complicated, but they are all clearly dealt with.

The final chapter, which attempts to sum up the state of our knowledge, is written with justifiable caution. We are not yet in a position to answer even so simple a question as whether Neanderthal Man lies on the direct line of development from the ape to *Homo sapiens*. In the present state of our knowledge such apparently incongruous combinations as the simian head and very human femur of *Pithecanthropus* or the almost human skull and ape-like jawbone of Piltdown Man are complete puzzles. How helpless we are in the matter is amply shown by the doubts often expressed as to whether in either of these cases the bones found together actually belong to one and the same creature. When the stages between the chimpanzee—if, indeed, he is our ancestor—and Neanderthal Man are represented by four hundred specimens instead of by four, we may be able to put the study of early man on a firm basis. At present we grope in almost complete darkness.

T. ERIC PEET.

The Bronze Age. By V. GORDON CHILDE. Cambridge
University Press, 1930.

Professor Childe has written, as might have been expected, an excellent book, and the only real fault I have to find with it is its title. It is called *The Bronze Age*; and yet the first lines of the Preface inform us that it is intended to deal with 'the story of prehistoric industrial [*sic*] development in North-western Europe.' Within these limits, however, the treatment of the subject is admirable. Professor Childe is one of those archaeologists who have thought about the bases on which their science rests. The reader will find no hazy talk about influence in these pages—in fact, the word is once at least enclosed in inverted commas as a suspect. Since the term 'culture' must be used, Professor Childe rightly stops to define his use of it (pp. 41-2). His definition is a little puzzling, for it seems evident from what follows that he intends culture to include fashions, habits, artistic conventions and burial-rites as well as mere types of artefacts; yet his definition does not mention them. Is the phrase 'a given geographical area' quite wise? The area is not given beforehand but defined by the distribution of the culture itself.

The chapter on typology is excellent both in its sketch of how typology should and should not be used and in its rapid but complete treatment of actual Bronze Age types of metal objects. Professor Childe finds that 'the majority of European metal types, (omit this comma?) referable specifically to one or other of the Oriental groups, (omit comma?) go back quite unambiguously to prediluvian or Sumerian models.' Most of the European dagger-types, however, can be traced back to Egypt of the Middle Predynastic Period. In view of this latter fact Professor Childe hesitates to acclaim Sumeria as the original home of metallurgy, although he believes that at a very early period she was ahead of Egypt in her methods of working metal. The treatment of this question is typical of the sober and thoughtful way in which the problems of pre-history are dealt with throughout the book. On two points alone the author seems to have accepted uncritically the views of others. It is surely far too early to state without qualification that the Minoan civilisation 'begins rather before 3000 B.C. with the advent of Nilotic immigrants' (p. 19), and the identification of the Shardana of the Egyptian monuments with the Sardinians (p. 200) is looked upon with the gravest doubts by many Egyptologists.

There are a number of misprints: e.g. *contraforte* (p. 178), *Finnochito* (196), *terremaricoli* (179; contrast the correct form *terramaricoli*, 244), *élevées* (62), *Osenadel* (107). The Greek form *dolion* (204), used to render the Italian *dolio*, a large jar (Latin *dolium*), is surely non-existent; and 'popular movement' (167) is an unhappy periphrasis for migration.

T. ERIC PEET.

